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Language Acculturation Anxiety in Spanish Speaking Adult Immigrants Learning English in the United States

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Language Acculturation Anxiety in Spanish Speaking Adult Immigrants Learning English in the United States

by

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Dedication

For my students, who have become both my friends and my teachers

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Language Acculturation Anxiety in Spanish Speaking Adult Immigrants Learning English in the United States

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The principle question of this study pertained to the nature of the relationships between foreign language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress as it is experienced by adult Spanish speaking immigrants living in the United States. In addition to the nature of the relationships between the constructs, the ways in which they are experienced by adult English learners were also investigated.

Three inventories were adapted for delivery via a multimedia website. The English Language Anxiety Scale (Pappamihiel, 1999) adapted from the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986) was adapted for measuring anxiety. The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (1999) was selected for measuring the degree of acculturation, and the Multidimensional Acculturative Stress

Inventory (Rodriguez, Myers, Bingham Mira, Flores, & Garcia-Hernandez, 2002) was selected for measuring acculturative stress.

From the ninety-five original surveys that were begun on the website, fifty-five cases were selected for analysis. Results showed no significant correlations between the major constructs; however, interesting correlations among various individual items in the scales existed. Additionally, combined with the analysis of six semi-structured interviews, results indicate that the concept of foreign language classroom anxiety should be moved beyond the perimeter of the classroom for the case of adult immigrants learning English in an English-speaking country. Results further indicate that language acquisition in the adopted country when accompanied by the regular processes of acculturation may produce higher levels of language anxiety, not only in the degree of anxiety but also in the proportion of students dealing with anxiety when speaking English. The construct of language acculturation anxiety is proposed to identify the combined effect of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress.

Implications for the instruction of adult English students are made, as well as recommendations for future studies, including considerations when using a computer mediated delivery with this population.

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Chapter One: Introduction

IMMIGRATION, SOCIAL IDENTITY, AND SYMBOLIC POWER

> *In the beginning, it was hard for me to go to a restaurant because I didn't know how to say what I wanted to eat, and the person who waited on me didn't speak Spanish. So, in the end, I had to ask her to recommend what she thought was good. This was very frustrating for me because it wasn't any fun to go to a restaurant with the menu all in English. And sometimes, what the waitress picked out for me, I didn't like. But how was I doing to say, "That's not what I wanted. I wanted the other thing"? So you just stay quiet and that's better.*
>
> Rosa[1], El Salvador

Many of my adult ESL[2] students have shared with me stories like the one Rosa recounted above; stories of some simple event that became a site of their personal struggle to regain what Bourdieu (1983) calls the symbolic capitol of language. Cassie, for example, a successful professional accounting manager in her home country, said she felt "powerless" when communicating in English. Margarita, mother of four grown children and grandmother to three, said she felt "chiquita" – very small – when she was around people who spoke only English. In the same conversation, Maria, a young

[1] All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the participants.
[2] ESL = English as Second or Subsequent Language

woman with little formal education, added, “ó como si no existes” – as if you don’t exist. “Como no existes,” echoed Margarita (Ganesh, Sapp, & Rose, 2005).

“No one can completely ignore the linguistic or cultural law,” observed Bourdieu. People whose language is dominated by another, as in the case of Spanish-speaking immigrants to the United States, will in interactions with a speaker of the dominant language be “condemn[ed] …to a more or less desperate attempt to be correct, or to *silence*” (Bourdieu, 1983, p. 97). The stories of being condemned to correctness or silence from my students often appear to me to have three prominent elements: a point of contact with a member of the host culture (i.e., a natural-born United States citizen), a language predicament, and a sense of personal conflict as they face a re-evaluation of their social identity, “the *internal-external dialectic of identification,*” that defines how they see themselves in relation to the world around them (Jenkins, 1996, p. 20). In other words, in an interaction with a native English speaker, my immigrant students’ understandings of who they are and how they relate to the world at large are threatened because of a lack of language as symbolic power. The internal identity and external identity are incongruent.

In Rosa's story, she was unaccustomed to American[3] menus and, using what English she had at her disposal, attempted to engage the waitress to help her. The conflict arose when the waitress chose something that did not quite suit Rosa's tastes, but Rosa did not feel able to protest. This conflict was both a result and a cause of a

[3] I use the term “American” because it is the word used in English for the citizens and culture of the United States. Some people from American countries in North, Central and South America would remind me that United States citizens are not the only Americans, and it is a point well-taken. However, as English has no “estadounidense” equivalent, I will use the term “American” in this paper to refer to citizens of the United States.

communication disconnect, a disconnect caused by the lack of a common language and culture. Rosa "didn't know how to say" what she wanted and then decided it was better to "just stay quiet." Even though she was a paying customer and had financial authority in this situation, she did not see herself as having the social power to contradict someone who spoke the language of the dominant culture, even though that person was being paid by Rosa to provide a service.

Rosa is not alone in this assessment of her social power. The risk associated with trying to communicate in a language over which they do not have complete control frequently seems to be deemed too much of a threat to the sense of self of my Spanish-speaking immigrant students. Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) observed that "…any performance in the L2 [second language] is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic" (p. 128).

Emigrating to a new country can be a difficult and trying experience, especially when an unpleasant economic or political situation was the impetus behind the decision to exchange home, friends, and family for an unfamiliar country, culture, and often, unfamiliar language. Hoffman (1989) described her experience when her old and new cultural worlds collided as a kind of death that left her with "no interior language." She went on to reflect: "I am not filled with language anymore, and I have only a memory of fullness to anguish me with the knowledge that, in this dark and empty state, I don't really exist."

Adult immigrants to the United States coming from language backgrounds other

than English often cannot immediately express themselves as competent communicators. Unlike children, adults are also aware that the complex idea that they wish to articulate must be presented in simplistic language with reduced meaning when they employ a language they are in the process of acquiring (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986). Typically, adults learning a new language are unable to convey their own sense of narrative style, nor the full thought that they wish to convey to their audience. Horwitz (2001), drawing on the work of Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope (1986), noted the "inherent inauthenticity" of communication when adult speakers engage in interactions in a language over which they have not gained mastery (p.114). As a result, many adult learners may feel particularly anxious when communicating in a new language. Notwithstanding a strong desire to communicate, adult learners may be less willing to attempt to learn and use the second language if they are anxious (MacIntyre, Dornyei, Clement, & Noels, 1998).

Not having a way of expressing one's authentic self in the language of the target culture is a complaint I have heard from hundreds of adults in the twenty years I have been tutoring and teaching English as a Second Language (ESL). Based on more than three hundred surveys at one ESL organization[4], the most frequent reason adult immigrants give when asked why they want to study English is simply to be able to communicate with the people around them. Upon immediate arrival to the United States, adult immigrants typically have what might be considered very commonplace needs for communication: catching a bus, securing employment, communicating with their children's teachers, obtaining a driver's license, etcetera. Even going to the grocery store

[4] Based on intake forms at English Now (August 2002 thru January 2005)

can become a traumatic event when it requires that they speak and understand English. My student Cassie, for example, emigrated from Mexico to the United States when she married an American police officer she had met in a border town. Her reason for studying English was to be able to communicate more effectively with her husband, stepsons, in-laws, and neighbors. As far as employment was concerned, she indicated that she had no hope of procuring a professional job, although she had worked for many years as a manager in the tax department of the Mexican government. She believed that her lack of English automatically reduced her to a lower-level service industry position such as housekeeping or babysitting. Cassie felt isolated, having no family or friends nearby and living in an apartment complex where there were few Spanish speakers. Like most adult students, she was making the sacrifice of time and energy to learn English because she strongly desired the ability to communicate with native English speakers in English with the same fluency and eloquence she has in Spanish.

Even though immigrant adults often express a strong desire to be able to *speak* with the people around them, one of the difficulties facing ESL educators in adult education settings is how to persuade students to actually use orally the English they are learning or have already learned. Teachers must encourage their students to use English both within the classroom context and, perhaps more importantly, outside the classroom context: that is, "in the real world." While using English “in the real world” is the expressed ultimate goal of most students, it is an exceedingly difficult task to get students to give more than "two word responses," as one frustrated educator put it ("ESL Cafe: Teacher Discussion Forum: Adult Education: "Adult Conversation Class Everyday!!","

2004). One possible reason for this discrepancy between adult learners' expressed goals and their actions is that they experience language anxiety.

LANGUAGE ANXIETY

Even when students have a strong desire to learn the language, they may suffer from language anxiety. Anxiety in general is a natural reaction that occurs when a person feels uneasy, apprehensive or worried about some experience, real or imagined (Lazarus, 1966). It affects all aspect of a person's being: the mind, the body and the emotions (Kindle, 1997). Anxiety is in part a biological response to stress that is designed to increase the functions of the autonomic nervous system to prepare for "fight or flight" in response to a real or imagined future threat (Gray, 1988). It can cause heart palpitations, sweating, and cognitive difficulties, among other physical and emotional changes. The threat that induces anxiety can be internal or external (Anderson, 1996). For example, some people may feel anxious while driving a car because they anticipate a physical threat in the form of an accident. Internal threats to self-concept or identity may be especially anxiety producing, because the threat is contradicting how the individual perceives himself or herself, and his or her social position. For example, other people may feel anxious while driving because they anticipate being pulled over by a police officer for a traffic citation, which relegates them to a subordinate social power position in the interaction with the officer and threatens their sense of control over their lives and perhaps the "good driver" perception they have of themselves.

Self-concept is intimately tied to the language of the individual. The Chicana[5] author Gloria Anzaldúa puts it most poignantly:

> "So, if you want to really hurt me, talk badly about my language. Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity – I am my language."
> (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 59)

It is this threat to the perception of self that can make language learning a threatening undertaking (Guiora, 1983). As mentioned earlier, Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope (1986) suggested that learners may particularly feel threatened by their inability to express themselves in a manner consistent with what they believe about themselves and the world around them. Adult learners are aware of the incongruities between what they want to say and what they are able to say; moreover, they are also aware that whatever they say may be negatively evaluated by the listener. In addition, most learners are probably aware that the standards by which their narratives are being judged (in terms of both linguistic competence and communicative competence) are only partially known to them. As a result, speaking in English becomes "necessarily problematic" (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986, p. 128).

Prior to 1986, research on language anxiety produced inconsistent results because of the number of different ways anxiety was being conceptualized. As a result, there was some debate as to whether anxiety about foreign language learning was indeed a separate form of anxiety. The development of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale

[5] "Chicana" was how Anzaldúa identified herself. The term "Chicano/a" is considered derogatory by some, but in this paper it is used to distinguish American-born people of Mexican ancestry from first generation Mexican immigrants to the United States.

(FLCAS) by Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope in 1986 offered a standardized instrument for the operationalization of the construct of language anxiety; additionally, it was shown that foreign language classroom anxiety was in fact a distinguishable form of anxiety from general test anxiety or other classroom anxieties (Horwitz, 1986). The FLCAS study indicated that as many as one-third of the students in a foreign language classroom experience some sort of anxiety associated with language learning, and that speaking seemed to be particularly anxiety inducing. It must be noted, however, that the Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope study, and most of those that followed, focused on adults in a college classroom setting who were studying a language outside of the target language culture, leaving other contexts relatively unexplored. Many items on this scale explicitly refer to the classroom environment. The following sample items from the FLCAS (1986) demonstrate this point and highlight the need for changes to be made to the scale in order to elicit the types of language anxiety experienced by adult immigrants outside of the classroom.

- I tremble when I know I'm going to be called on in class.
    - Adult immigrants may or may not be in a situation where they are "called on" to speak English.
- It wouldn't bother me at all to take more foreign language classes.
    - The desire to take (or avoid) other foreign language classes is probably not an indicator of English language anxiety for adult immigrants.
- I am usually at ease during tests in my language class.

    - Many adult education ESL programs, especially those run by nonprofit organizations or houses of worship, do not utilize formal tests. Even when such tests are employed, they do not have the implied consequences of university tests. Tests are often only for assessment purposes to assign individuals to the appropriate class level.
- I worry about the consequences of failing my foreign language class.
    - In most adult education ESL programs, "failing" a class means they are assigned to repeat the same class level at the next assessment. This may be bothersome to some, but the consequences of failing to learn English are much graver. English provides economic and social opportunities that may not otherwise be obtained in the United States.
- I often feel like not going to class.
    - While college students may "skip" language class, adult ESL students are living the class. Choosing to "skip" class means keeping away from the dominant society and associating only with members of their own language group (which is an option to some extent in many parts of the U.S., including Austin), or, in places where that is not possible, becoming isolated.

In 1999, Pappamihiel adjusted the FLCAS to be used with immigrant children from Mexico studying in middle school in the United States. The new scale was called

the English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS). These children were attending both ESL classes and mainstream classes, and the new scale was designed to look for levels of anxiety in both kinds of classroom environments. In general, Pappamihiel found a main effect for the level of achievement and anxiety in the ESL classes. As the level of achievement increased, the level of anxiety decreased. In the mainstream classes, on the other hand, the students who specifically self-reported better speaking skills were less anxious, regardless of their actual achievement level (Pappamihiel, 1999)

The Pappamihiel study helped to move the concept of foreign language anxiety out of the foreign language classroom and into the context of second language anxiety in mainstream classrooms. Nonetheless, it did not consider the relationship of language anxiety outside of the academic context.

ACCULTURATION

Both in and out of academic contexts, children and adult immigrants undergo the process of acculturation when they immigrate to a new country. Acculturation is by definition the process of change that occurs in one or both parties when two cultures come into contact (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). While theoretically the process of acculturation affects both cultures, in practice it is the members of the nondominant group who generally experience the most change.

According to Berry (2001), people immigrating to a new culture acculturate in different ways. Some immigrants may assimilate[6] to the new culture, meaning that they

[6] It should be noted that acculturation is not used in this paper as synonymous with assimilation. Unfortunately, the terms are used by many researchers as synonyms, causing difficulty in comparing results

completely adopt the cultural habits and customs of the host society and abandon their native culture habits and customs. On the other hand, immigrants may integrate, maintaining some native cultural values and habits while adopting others from the host culture. They may separate themselves from the dominant culture, completely maintaining their original cultural system and avoiding contact with the members of the dominant culture. Or, in some cases, immigrants may become marginalized, whereby they lose their sense of belonging to their native culture (often by enforced means as in conquest) but still do not adopt the culture of the host society. All of these potential responses (assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization) are considered acculturation processes (Berry, 2001).

The lack of an adequate scale to measure acculturation has hampered our understanding of the construct, but it also should be noted that the development of a valid and reliable scale has been a challenging endeavor. As a result of different researchers utilizing different conceptualizations of acculturation in their studies, the different scales they have developed have gauged different aspects of the phenomenon. One useful scale, "The Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics" was developed in 1987 by Marin, Sabogal, Otero-Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez Stable. The scale was not designed exclusively to measure the experiences of first generation immigrants, but also the acculturation experiences of subsequent generations of Americans of Hispanic ancestry. The validity of the scale was attributed to the subjects' self reports of their level of acculturation with the degree of acculturation indicated by their responses to the

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across studies. According to Berry (2001) assimilation is only one of the possible outcomes of acculturation.

instrument. Although just 12 questions long, it covers what are considered the three major indicators for acculturation: media use, ethnic social relations, and language (Kim, 1977). Not surprisingly, language was the indicator that had the highest level of correlation with the overall acculturation level (Marin, Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, & Perez-Stable, 1987).

In 2000, Stephenson took “The Short Acculturation Scale for Hispanics” developed by Marin et al., and modified and expanded it so that it could be used with people from various cultural backgrounds and across multiple generations. The items in the scale, accordingly, have references both to the respondent’s target language and culture and to the native language and culture. Stephenson (2000) contends that the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale measures acculturation as the “degree of immersion in dominant and ethnic societies,” rather than merely the degree to which the “old” culture has been abandoned and the “new” one has been adopted (p.85). In her findings, Stephenson reported that “acculturation as measured in this study may be more useful for newer immigrants” (p. 85).

ACCULTURATIVE STRESS

In addition to whatever degree of acculturation they experience, many immigrants also suffer from acculturative stress. Stress is "a mentally or emotionally disruptive or upsetting condition occurring in response to adverse external influences and capable of affecting physical health, usually characterized by increased heart rate, a rise in blood pressure, muscular tension, irritability, and depression" ("The American Heritage® Dictionary of the English Language," 2000). The primary difference, it would seem,

between anxiety and stress is temporal. Anxiety is induced by the *anticipation* of threats, real or imagined, past, present or future, while stress is induced by real or imagined threats occurring at the present time (Van Vorhees, 2007). Many immigrants, therefore, experience both stress and anxiety simultaneously.

Acculturative stress can be triggered by the most mundane of daily routines, such as catching the bus or buying groceries. In a situation where everything is unfamiliar, and even the familiar cannot be made certain, a propensity for experiencing increased stress is bound to exist (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001).

The Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI) was developed to measure the level of acculturative stress experienced not only by immigrants but also by subsequent generations of Latinos. The researchers found that stressors are directional, not only toward acculturating to the host culture but also against losing the cultural norms and practices of the native culture (Rodriguez et al., 2002).

SUMMARY

In summary, adult immigrants may experience acculturation, acculturative stress, and language learning anxiety. Previous research, however, has not examined how these constructs interact and are related to one another. In reviewing the scales that measure acculturation and acculturative stress, there appears to be a general assumption that proficiency and use of language is an indicator of acculturation. For example, in the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale, one half of the items (16/32) directly mention language, and eight others imply language (media and social relations), meaning that 75% of the scale is dependent on language issues. In The Multidimensional

Acculturative Stress Inventory, sixteen of the original thirty-six questions (44%) directly address language issues. Yet, I could find no studies that have *investigated* the assumption that language is an indicator of acculturation or acculturative stress. It remains to be explored how language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress relate to one another.

This study investigates the relationships among language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress as experienced by Spanish-speaking adult immigrants to the United States, particularly the Austin, Texas area. Understanding these relationships may broaden our understanding of how adult immigrant students are experiencing these changes, as well as inform our pedagogical theory, and enable us to improve our methodology.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In order to understand the relationships between and among language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress, I reviewed the literature regarding these constructs. All three have been theoretically discussed and empirically researched extensively, but for the purposes of this literature review, I will comment on the discussions and research studies most pertinent to the current study.

ANXIETY

Defining Anxiety

The discussion of anxiety can be taken back to the Greek philosophers who discussed the concept of "humors" and the balance of "bile," and there are many resources that review the history of the concept from the ancient philosophers to the present (for example, see Rachman, 2004 or Kapser, Boer, & Sitsen, 2003). For the purposes of this review, I will start with more modern definitions of anxiety.

The National Institute of Mental Health defines anxiety as a normal coping mechanism for stress. Unhealthy anxiety, by their terms, is a persistent feeling of "irrational" dread, apprehension or impending disaster (*Anxiety Disorders*, 2008). The American Psychological Association defines anxiety as "an intense emotional response caused by the preconscious recognition that a repressed conflict is about to emerge into consciousness" ("Psychology Matters: Glossary," 2008). In other words, anxiety is a physical and/or psychological reaction to a threat, either real or perceived. It differs

from fear, though, in that it tends to be less focused. People are usually able to articulate what they are afraid of, but are less likely to be able to explain why they feel anxious (Ormrod, 1999).

Lazarus (1966) said that anxiety is the result of not appraising a threatening situation correctly, coupled with the inability to determine a method of avoiding or overcoming the threat. Further, he and Averill (1972) elaborated that the threat was specifically to one's own concept of self. More recently, Lazarus (1991) described anxiety as being the reaction to a perceived threat to identity that is "…abstract, ambiguous and symbolic. Anxiety arises when existential meaning is disrupted or endangered as a result of physiological deficit, drugs, intrapsychic conflict, and difficult-to-interpret events" (p.234). The threat to identity motivates the individual to "objectify it, either appropriately or inappropriately by references to sources of external and concrete danger" such as common life events (job stressors, tests, interviews, social rejection, etcetera) (p. 234).

The distinction between adaptive anxiety that signals a threat and prompts or prepares the physical body for action in order to protect oneself from that threat (i.e., a fight or flight response) and maladaptive anxiety which inhibits a person from responding appropriately either physically or emotionally is defined by five factors. The first is intensity, or how strongly the threat is felt. A mildly uncomfortable feeling will usually result in an appropriate response, but an extreme reaction will result in the inability to handle the threat. Also, anxiety that lasts over a long period of time is considered maladaptive as opposed to a discomfort of a short duration. The way that the person

contemplates the level of anxiety itself, or preoccupation with anxiety, is also maladaptive. The quality of the experience is also a factor. A normal response will be unpleasant but manageable. A maladaptive response will be overwhelming. The effect on behavior and functioning is the final criterion for distinguishing abnormal from normal anxiety. Normal anxiety does not impair functioning or cause any serious changes in normal behavior for the individual. However, abnormal anxiety interferes with cognitive and social functioning, and as a result causes long-term changes in behavior (Starcevik, 2005).

Psychologists have found it helpful to categorize anxiety into two types: trait and state. State anxiety is the term used when the anxiety has a clear stimulus, which also means that this type of anxiety tends to have a temporary duration (Ormrod, 1999). State anxiety does not generally include thoughts of whether the situation has been experienced previously or if it will be experienced again in the future (MacIntyre, 2007). Trait anxiety, on the other hand, is a more stable psychological characteristic that is a response to a much broader category of stimuli (Ormrod, 1999). Trait anxiety reflects "broad, typical patterns of behavior" (MacIntyre, 2007, p.565).

Studies of anxiety in the classroom have led researchers to another way of categorizing anxiety. In addition to trait and state anxiety, researchers found that certain situations were consistently likely to produce anxiety in certain individuals, even when an individual was not particularly prone to trait anxiety. They therefore began to distinguish between situation specific anxiety and general, or non-situation specific anxiety.

The situation specific anxiety first identified in the classroom was test anxiety (Gordon & Sarason, 1955; Mandler & Sarason, 1953). From these early studies through to more recent research (Calvo & Miguel-Tobal, 1998; Klinger, 1984; Putwain, 2007; Sawyer Jr. & Hollis-Sawyer, 2005), test anxiety has consistently been shown to be a predictor of poor performance. Test anxiety is generally conceptualized as being made up of worry (the cognitive component) and emotionality (the affective/physical component) (Liebert & Morris, 1967). Additionally, recent studies have found that a theoretical model of test anxiety that includes "lack of self-confidence" has better predictive power on outcomes than the two pronged model of worry and emotionality alone (Meijer, Elshout-Mohr, & van Hout-Wolters, 2001). Self-confidence is generally defined as the belief in one's personal worth joined with faith in one's ability to succeed at any task required. In education, this construct is more commonly called "self-efficacy."

Self-Efficacy and Anxiety

Self-efficacy is a person's belief that he or she is able to perform at a level that will have an effect on events that affect his or her life; the belief that he or she is able to arrange and undertake actions necessary to have a given situation turn out in the way desired (Bandura, 1995). Self-efficacy is important in the consideration of anxiety, especially anxiety in the classroom, because it relates to how people "feel, think, motivate themselves and behave" (p. 2). People who have strong self-efficacy also have a sense of general well-being and will construe difficult tasks as challenges rather than as problems. When faced with what seem to be overwhelming odds, people with high self-efficacy will

increase their efforts and, if they should not succeed, quickly recover and re-evaluate the situation. They will then seek to gather the knowledge or skills they perceived as being the cause of the failure and try again.

On the other hand, people with low self-efficacy will avoid tasks that entail a risk of failure. They set a low bar for themselves and are not completely dedicated to the goals they have made. If they are confronted with a challenge, they tend to dwell on their skills or knowledge deficit and give reasons (excuses) as to why they are not able to handle the task. They are quick to decrease their efforts and give up when they perceive imminent failure. Following failure, they are slow to recover their self-efficacy and thus are more likely to be victims of stress or depression (Bandura, 1994).

It appears, therefore, that self-efficacy has a relationship to anxiety. According to Bandura, Adams & Beyer (1977), the self-efficacy an individual has with regard to a challenging situation will determine the emotional reaction he or she experiences to that situation. It appears that if a person does not believe that he or she has any control over a potential threat, the likely result will be apprehension and the expectation of a negative outcome. Conversely, if an individual has self-efficacy regarding the amount of control that can be exerted over the threat, it is more likely that said individual will not meditate on the potential negative outcomes and consequently not become as apprehensive. Therefore, persons with low self-efficacy regarding a challenge may experience high levels of anxiety arousal, but the degree of anxiety arousal may be mediated by perceived self-efficacy (Bandura, Adams & Beyer, 1977). It is not the thoughts themselves that cause the anxiety, but the low self-efficacy regarding the management of the outcomes

(Bandura & Jourden, 1991). When anxiety is aroused as a result of low self-efficacy, the cognitive energy required to deal with self-related negative thoughts competes with the energy required for task-related thoughts (Djigunovi , 2006; Kondo & Ying-Ling, 2004). In addition to interfering with cognitive processing, worrisome thoughts, which are one component of anxiety, decrease the amount of working memory available, making cognitive tasks much more difficult (Eysenck, 1979; Kahnemann, 1973; Tobias, 1985). Consequently, the task itself is unlikely to be completed successfully. In the classroom this can have frustrating and even tragic results.

Facilitating and Debilitating Anxiety

In 1908, Yerkes and Dodson did a series of experiments with mice that resulted in the theory of optimal arousal (see Figure 1). The mice were put in a box from which they could escape by using one of two doors. The room through one door led to a safe

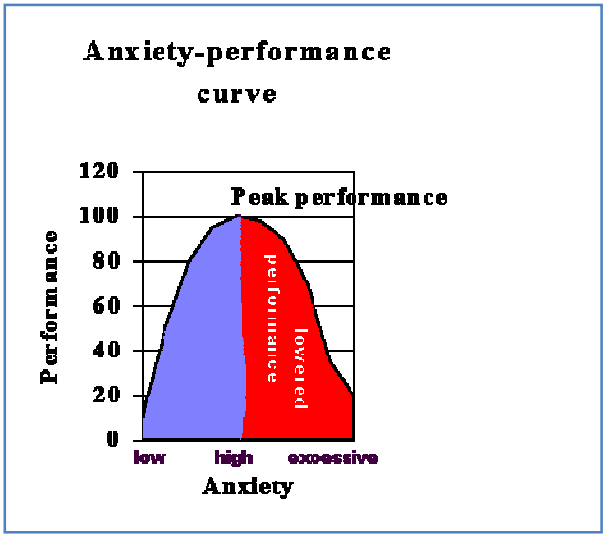


Figure 1: Yerkes Dodson Curve of Optimal Arousal

nesting place. The other door led to an electrical shock. The safe door was better lit,

providing a visual clue to the mice as to which exit led to safety. The degree of the difference in lighting varied from completely dark versus completely lit, to slight differences in shades of gray. As the wall opposite the door was pushed toward the doors, the mice were forced to choose a door through which to exit. The mice were trained ten times every morning until they were able to make the "right" choice for three days in a row. The results showed that when the distinction was very easy or very difficult, the mice learned the task much more slowly than when the distinction and penalty (intensity of shock) were moderate.

Many studies since Yerkes and Dodson published their report have supported this theory which is now considered a psychological "law." For example, in one study muscular tension in the jaw was found to be a predictor of success in solving math problems. Too little tension or too much and the participant was less likely to correctly solve the problem (Bloom & Broder, 1950).[7] Subsequently, educators began distinguishing between "facilitating" anxiety and "debilitating" anxiety (Beeman, Martin, & Meyers, 1972). If the anxiety helps in the process of the task, it is considered facilitating. If it impedes the successful completion of the task, it is considered debilitating (Ormrod, 1999). Because individuals may respond to any given anxiety-provoking stimulus as a threat (when self-efficacy is low) or a challenge (when self-efficacy is high), the same stimulus may produce facilitating anxiety in one person and debilitating anxiety in another. Understanding that different students experience the same

[7] Some recent studies have shown that Yerkes-Dodson may be too simplistic a model as there are studies that show that high arousal is sometimes also associated with high retention (although not necessarily "learning"). These studies suggest it is not the anxiety that affects performance but the ability to effectively process cues when various factors are demanding focus and attention. See Christianson, 1992 for a review and discussion of these studies.

stressor differently becomes particularly important in the classroom, where high-stakes tasks, such as final exams or state required skills assessments, may cause debilitating test anxiety in one student and facilitating anxiety in another.

Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety

Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety, as previously mentioned, is a situation-specific anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). While test anxiety is a common classroom phenomenon, the anxiety felt by many students in the foreign language classroom extends beyond the test. Language is inherently connected to one's concept of self, or identity. According to Guiora (1984), it is the "lifeblood of human self-awareness…the carrier of identity" (p. 10). In the process of learning a new language, individuals usually also have to make changes in ways of thinking about the world and describing their experiences, perhaps challenging the "native language and its psychological correlates" (Guiora, 1984, p. 4).

Understanding, then, that language is intimately intertwined with identity, it is logical that identity can be threatened by learning a second language, the process of which challenges the individual to identify oneself in a new way. In fact, language learning is one of the most anxiety-producing undertakings upon which a person can embark. Psychologist Edwin Stengel (1939) likened it to the difference between a child being given a flamboyant dress to wear and an adult being given the same dress. The child will see an opportunity to play and have fun and expect others to join her in the game. An adult will likely have a sense of shame and feel uncomfortable in the new clothes, as if she is making a spectacle of herself. Based on Freudian psychology,

Stengel believed that in adults the superego is too much on guard to learn a second language easily. "'The new language as spoken by them, seems to be the result of a compromise between the demands of reality and their emotional resistance against the new way of expressing themselves" (Stengel, 1939, p. 476) In fact, Schumann (1978) went so far as to propose that the social and psychological distance between the learner and the speakers of the target language partly determine the degree to which the target language is acquired. This theory, the Acculturation Theory of Language Acquisition, will be discussed in more detail in the review of acculturation literature.

Understanding the internal conflict adults face in learning a second language, educators tried measuring language anxiety in the classroom, but did not obtain consistent results. In reviewing the research, Scovel (1978) suggested that the problem was the ways different researchers were operationalizing the construct of anxiety in the language classroom in their studies. As previously discussed, anxiety can be viewed through different lenses: trait vs. state, facilitating vs. debilitating, general vs. specific. In the studies up until Scovel's (1978) review of the literature, the construct of anxiety was inconsistently defined; the instruments were not specifically designed for foreign language classroom anxiety; and, therefore, the results were inconsistent.

Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986) set out to rectify this situation by developing an instrument that could be used to reliably measure anxiety in the *foreign language* classroom. They suggested that because of the mental operations required when speaking a second language, "any performance in the L2 is likely to challenge an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear or

even panic" (p. 128). They therefore proposed that foreign language anxiety in the classroom is related to three previously established performance anxieties: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation. Communication apprehension is "the level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons" (McCroskey, 1977, p. 12). Test anxiety is fear of formal assessments in the classroom (Mandler & Sarason, 1953). Fear of negative evaluation is defined as "apprehension about others' evaluations, distress over their negative evaluations, avoidance of evaluative situations, and the expectation that others would evaluate oneself negatively" (Watson & Friend, 1969, p. 449). It is clear that all three of these constructs could play a part in anxiety in the foreign language classroom, and it was Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope's (1986) argument that the ways in which these constructs interacted made foreign language classroom anxiety a specific and distinct type of anxiety which, in order to be studied, had to be more consistently measured. After conducting focus groups with language students at the University of Texas at Austin, they developed the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) to measure this anxiety "as evidenced by negative performance expectancies and social comparisons, psychophysiological symptoms, and avoidance behaviors" (Horwitz, 1986, p. 559).

Pilot testing showed that the new scale had good internal reliability and test-retest reliability (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope, 1986), and supported the validity of the concept that anxiety in the foreign language classroom was distinguishable from other anxieties such as test anxiety alone (Horwitz, 1986). The study supported foreign language

classroom anxiety as "a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviors related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process" (Horwitz, Horwitz & Cope, 1986, p. 128). Furthermore, in the first administrations of this scale, one-third of the students scored as being highly anxious. Many studies have been conducted using this instrument to examine foreign language anxiety in general as well as anxiety regarding specific foreign language skills (for examples see, Aida (1994), Saito and Samimy (1996), and Cheng (1999)). The results have consistently indicated that around a third of foreign language students suffer from high levels of language anxiety in the foreign language classroom. Moreover results have consistently indicated a negative correlation between foreign language anxiety and achievement (Horwitz, 2000).

In language teaching literature, a distinction is generally made between foreign language learning, i.e., learning the language in an environment where it is not spoken by the general populace (Arabic or Japanese in the United States, for example) and second language learning, which is the case of the language being learned in an environment where it is a primary language (as in English in the United States, or Spanish in Mexico) (Gass & Selinker, 2008). Specific to English language learning, the field is often discussed in terms of EFL (English as a Foreign Language, i.e., in an environment where English is not the language of the community) and ESL (English as a Second or Subsequent Language, i.e., in an environment where English is widely used and spoken). Although there have been numerous studies conducted to examine foreign language classroom anxiety, there are relatively few that investigate second language classroom

anxiety, and even fewer that examine second language anxiety outside of the academic context.

In 1999, Pappamihiel conducted her dissertation study using a modified form of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale which she called the English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS). Her target population was immigrant Mexican middle school students who were taking both ESL classes and regular academic content classes. She asked her 178 participants to answer the items of the ELAS once within the context of the ESL classes and then again with reference to their mainstream classes. She found that the anxiety experienced by these students could be separated into two distinct domains: performance and achievement. Students were predominantly anxious about their interactions with their teachers and the teachers' assessments of their skills in the ESL classroom, but in the mainstream classrooms their interactions with peers were more likely to produce anxious reactions. Pappamihiel (2001) also found that anxiety was more prevalent in girls than in boys, which she attributed to Mexican cultural norms regarding classroom behavior in general as well as gender appropriate behavior specifically. The anxiety reactions from the girls were particularly attributed to having to interact with Chicanas (Mexican-American girls) in their mainstream classes who would "taunt and tease" them in both English and Spanish (p. 5).

Although not specifically an *English* as a second language study, Motoda (2000) found comparable results in a study of four hundred college students studying Japanese as a second language in eighteen universities across Japan. Unfortunately, I do not read Japanese and there is no English version of the entire text; in spite of this, and from what

I could gather from three different abstracts, the findings of this study are important and relate well to this research study. Motoda provided the instrument in the native languages of the participants (English, Korean, and Chinese) as well as in Japanese. Factor analyses showed that the following factors contributed to the anxiety of the students while in the classroom: speaking in class, not being certain of the teacher's expectations for assignments, and worry about their low level of proficiency. On the other hand, outside of the classroom, the students indicated that interactions with Japanese speakers were the most anxiety producing situations, coupled with concerns about their proficiency and being unsure of how to handle formal situations. The Motoda (2000) study takes the *foreign* language anxiety construct and shows that it is equally pertinent, if not more so, to the *second* language classroom,

Also in a second language context, Jones (2003) investigated the effects of a treatment for language anxiety among 43 Spanish-speaking adult education ESL students. Her hypothesis was that anxiety management training given in the first language, Spanish, would be more effective than either control groups (who read stories in Spanish, or in English) or anxiety management training provided in English alone. While her study did not show that the treatment had much effect on anxiety, it is an important study in that it is one of the first that deals with adult education learners (not college students) regarding anxiety in the English as a second language context.

Derwing (2004) interviewed a hundred adult ESL students in Canada about their experiences as second language speakers. While this study did not focus specifically on language anxiety, it found that adult ESL students felt that their pronunciation was the

primary cause of communication difficulties with native speakers. Almost all participants (95%) also indicated that the standard goal for pronunciation was to sound like a native speaker, and a third also believed they had been discriminated against because of their pronunciation. Moreover, visible minorities (from the Middle East or Asian-Pacific regions) were more likely to report discrimination than non-visible minorities (mainly immigrants from Europe). Even though the participants expressed the belief that their accent in English did not cause an identity issue for them because their identity was tied to their first language, and not English, they nonetheless indicated having difficulties in expressing themselves as competent communicators and felt that they were at a distinct disadvantage with regard to power relations when interacting with native speakers. Their inability to produce native-like pronunciation threatened their perception of their identity, "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (Norton, 2000, p. 5). Threats to the concept of identity and the ability to manage those threats are at the root of anxiety (Lazarus, 1966, 1991; Lazarus & Averill, 1972).

One other study specifically investigating second language anxiety among adults was conducted by Woodrow in 2006. Woodrow argued that "living in an environment where the target language is also the language of everyday communication may influence anxiety," explicitly pointing out the perceived difference in the EFL and ESL contexts (p.309). Two hundred seventy-five academic English students planning to enter Australian universities were given an English Language Anxiety Scale (developed by

Woodrow). The English Language Anxiety Scale was based on a pilot version tested in 2003. In addition, results from the International English Language Testing Service exam and qualitative interview data were collected and examined. The 12-item Likert scale included questions about speaking anxiety with variations as to the kind of interlocutor (native or non-native speaker as well as status distinctions), the number of interlocutors, and the conversational context (in-class or out-of-class). The results showed that while in-class and out-of-class anxiety were highly correlated (r=.58, p<.01), there was sufficient lack of correlation to indicate that the context of the language learning (i.e., in class or out of class) should be taken into consideration.

Although Woodrow's (2006) findings confirm the intuition of ESL teachers regarding language anxiety among ESL students, there are several limitations to the application of these findings to the context of adult English learners in the United States. First and foremost, the study again targets college students. It is likely, therefore, that the general level of education of the participants is somewhat higher than that which is found in most adult ESL classrooms in the U.S. In addition, as international college students, their primary goal during their stay in the second language environment was to learn the language, whereas adult ESL learners in the continuing education programs generally have primary goals of finding and keeping a job and a place to live, as well as caring for children or extended family and the other normal "life" concerns and issues. Learning English is not the primary goal of the adult ESL student, but being able to better manage these other aspects of everyday life is a priority and English learning is seen as necessary to that end. Furthermore, the "out of class" context specifically given in this study is out

of class conferences with lecturers and classmates. In other words, the "out-of-class" context is still an "academic" conversation. Language, and consequently language anxiety, is integrally tied to the socio-cultural context in which it exists. The social culture of academia being clearly different than that of society beyond university walls, there is still a need to investigate language anxiety "in the real world."

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Because our language and identity are grounded in the culture into which we are born, it is important to consider how language and culture interact in our understanding and representation of the world around us (Bonvillain, 1997). Linguistic anthropologist and philosopher Edward Sapir proposed that language is a function of the socio-cultural history of the people who speak that language, and the habit of describing the world in a given language influences the possibilities for interpreting the world and therefore controls how individuals experience the world. He offered the example in art of a Japanese hillside versus an English hillside. Whether the picture or the word, the culture affects the perception of what a "hill" is, bearing in mind that language, even more so than art, is an arbitrary system of symbols for what it intends to represent (Sapir, 1949).

Sapir's student, Whorf, went as far as to say that the language actually determines the perception of the world (linguistic determinism), but most linguists would agree that a causal relationship between language and perception is overstated. Simply because a word or grammatical structure does not exist, does not mean that the object or experience cannot be perceived or explained. Whorf's commonly cited example of different words for snow in an Eskimo language readily shows that this is not so. The

original assumption was that English speakers did not have different words for snow and therefore could not distinguish between different types of snow. Yet, English in fact also has many words for snow, the difference being that only those who need to know those words would be able to list them. For example, a skier may call the physical entity we call *"snow"* as *snow, packed snow, corn snow, new over, powder, slush*, etcetera (Crystal, 1987). Most linguists disregard linguistic determinism in favor of the linguistic relativity version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which states that experience is socially and linguistically mediated (Bonvillain, 1997; Crystal, 1987).

Although language may not *control* how we perceive the world, it does *influence* how we think, perceive, and remember (Crystal, 1987). For example, students learning a second language where there is no similar structure in their first language may find that structure particularly difficult to grasp by way of prohibitive inhibition, a negative form of language transfer (Gass & Selinker, 2008). For example, in my clinical experience, the word "it" takes English learners from other languages a great deal of time to master if the pronoun "it" is not usually utilized in the first language[8]. Why might this be so? First, English grammar requires a subject, even if the subject is null or otherwise explicitly understood. Spanish speaking students therefore might have difficulty remembering to include "it" because no parallel grammatical rule exists in Spanish. In fact, subjects that are clearly known are usually omitted in Spanish except when emphasis is desired. For example, in the following sentences the subject is clearly "John" or "He." Nonetheless this must be clearly stated in English whereas in Spanish the subject can

[8] Spanish does have an "it" – "ello" – but it is not often used except in academic literature. Many of my students with low levels of education have claimed never to have heard or seen it.

(and usually is) omitted. If a Spanish speaker includes "he," there is emphatic stress placed on the subject. This stress could be interpreted in several ways: HE and no one else is over there; or HE himself is over there; or HE, with whom I'm annoyed, is over there and should not be.

Where is John?	He is over there.	*BUT NOT*	Is over there.
¿Dónde está Juan?	**Él** está allá.	*AND*	Esta allá.

Secondly, because English grammar requires a subject, even if there is no subject required by the verb, sentence forms with expletive "it" subjects are difficult to master. For example, weather and time expressions in English require "it" (even though no one can really tell you what "it" is) while no explicit subject is required in Spanish.

"It is 3 o'clock" (What is "it"?)	"Son las 3." (Are three hours.)
"It is raining." (What is raining?)	"Está lloviendo." (Is raining.)

In my experience, even advanced learners occasionally make the mistake of not applying this English grammar rule regarding the obligatory subject position.

Another example of how language and culture interact is in conceptual differences, such as the concept of time. While all languages have mechanisms for time, it is clear through the metaphors of that language how time and culture and language are intertwined (Bonvillain, 1997). Spanish and English have some time concepts in common. For example, in both languages you can "have" time or "lose" time. Yet, an American "spends" time while a Spanish speaker "passes" time. An American who "passes" time is essentially "wasting it," which in Spanish goes back to "losing" time, even though there is an available expression for wasting time in Spanish (*malgastar).*

Malgastar (literally, “to spend badly”) simply is not the preferred expression. Perhaps the saying “time is money” shows something of how time is conceived in American culture, compared to “time is gold” in Spanish. Time is a bargaining resource in English but a precious commodity in Spanish. The cultural correlates of time reflect this idea.

When Coach Lombardi of the Green Bay Packers told his players to be at an 8 o’clock practice, they knew that it meant to be there at 7:45. If they got there at 8, they were late. This is common practice in the American business world, and even in most social engagements. Not so in Mexican culture. While business time is relatively punctual, social time in Mexican culture is on another schedule entirely (Hall, 1973). The first time I was invited to a quinceañera (sweet 15) party, I arrived “on time,” meaning about ten minutes before I was told the festivities were to commence. I was surprised to find the hall still being decorated and the food in the process of being prepared. Neither the band nor the family had arrived. The party wound up starting two hours later than the time I had been told (the time, by the way, that I had planned to make my exit). I finally understood why my students always showed up an hour or more late for our parties. From then on, English Now parties were listed as “7 o’clock American / 6 o’clock Mexican.” The words “7 o’clock” may be the same in both languages, but they carry very different cultural meanings, at least in social settings.

The importance of the connection between and among language, culture, and identity is evident when a change of cultural environment occurs. An adult changing countries changes not only the physical environment, but the language environment and the cultural environment; and usually immigrants find that a shift in the concept of how

they relate to the world, how to construct that relationship, and what their future may hold is required (Norton, 2000). This process is called acculturation.

ACCULTURATION

Defining Acculturation

Acculturation studies have been of interest to anthropologists, linguists, sociologists, economists, and scholars from many other disciplines. For the purposes of this paper, I will restrict the discussion to the more recent interest psychologists have shown in the study of acculturation.

By definition, acculturation is the contact between members of two different cultural groups and the changes that occur on *both sides*, although generally speaking the member of the host culture is not as affected as the member of the non-dominant group (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936). The classic definition given by Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits states that acculturation is "…those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups" (p. 149). This definition leaves room for the idea that the changes could occur in behavior and/or ideology without indicating how those changes may relate to either the native or host culture. An alternative definition from The International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2004 defines acculturation in terms that limit it to the adoption of "ideas, words, values, norms, behaviors, institutions" without taking into account the idea that acculturation could involve resisting or rejecting the host culture's "ideas, words, values,

norms, behaviors, institutions" ("International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration," 2004, p. 7). When reviewing acculturation literature, this distinction becomes problematic, because some researchers use the term "acculturation" (as Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits defined it) as synonymous with "assimilation" (as the IOM defines acculturation). While they do not align well with the definition of *acculturation* used in this paper, the IOM does state that assimilation "goes further" than acculturation. They define assimilation as "the subsuming of language, traditions, values and behaviour or even fundamental vital interests and an alteration in the feeling of belonging" (p. 9). This problem of what is acculturation and what is assimilation is what confounds the interpretation of the literature in this area of research. For the purposes of this study, acculturation will be defined as distinct from assimilation, with assimilation being only one of the possible outcomes of acculturation (Berry, 1990).

Another way of conceptualizing "acculturation" as it is used in this paper is how groups and individuals position themselves toward the process of culture contact and change (Berry, 2001; Williams & Berry, 1991). This approach entails not only the adjustments and activities in which people engage to try and live in two cultural domains, but also the psychological changes they undergo during that process, as well as the long-term results of the changes they undergo.

It is important to note that no given "culture" is a static, unchanging entity. Culture is dynamic, constantly changing, and exists along a continuum rather than in neat, discrete categories (Lange & Paige, 2003). Culture may be defined as "a set of guidelines (both implicit and explicit) which individuals inherit as members of a

particular society, and which tell them how to view the world, how to experience it emotionally, and how to behave in it in relation to other people, to supernatural forces or God, and to the natural environment" (Helman, 1994, p. 2). At the same time, it must be understood that any given group of people may be (and probably are) under the influence of multiple cultures which can be associated with social stratification, linguistic attributes, manners, accommodation and even diet (O'Hagan, 1999).

What becomes important in terms of psychological acculturation is how the individual or cultural group self-identifies with a particular culture. While acculturation is both an individual and social phenomenon (both group-level and individual-level changes occur), the kinds of changes that take place at these levels may be very different. At the group level, changes might involve political status, economic base, or social structure. Psychological acculturation (Graves, 1967) deals more specifically with the experience of the individual when cultures come into contact. At the individual level, the issues involve identity, values, attitudes and behavior (Berry, 1990). "Culture is…what *happens to you* when you encounter differences, become aware of something in yourself, and figure out why the differences appeared" (Agar, 1994, p. 20).

Dona and Berry (1994) expand on Berry's (1990) model of acculturation to provide the framework appearing in Figure 2. By this model, "INTEGRATION" occurs when individuals want to maintain their identity as a member of the original culture group while simultaneously becoming part of the larger social framework that incorporates the second culture. "SEGREGATION" is the reaction that individuals have when they have no desire to interact with the host society but want to maintain their

traditions and culture. "ASSIMILATION" occurs when the opposite is true: individuals put more value on the host culture than on their parent culture. When individuals neither value their own culture nor the host culture, they lose contact with both groups and become "MARGINALIZED." An important note is that while a general trend of orientation can be assessed, an individual may acculturate to specific aspects of culture as well. For example, an immigrant in the United States associates only with people from his country and does not wish to associate with any Americans, but he has changed his diet completely to fast food, pizza, and soda. In this extreme example, he has taken a Separatist posture toward the host culture but an assimilationist position toward American food.

Measuring acculturation and assigning categories to the different processes involved is tricky business. It is akin to weighing someone as they walk across a scale, since personal identity and culture are both on-going processes rather than static entities. The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (2000) was the first study to both address the bidimensional model of acculturation and be used with people of different cultural backgrounds.

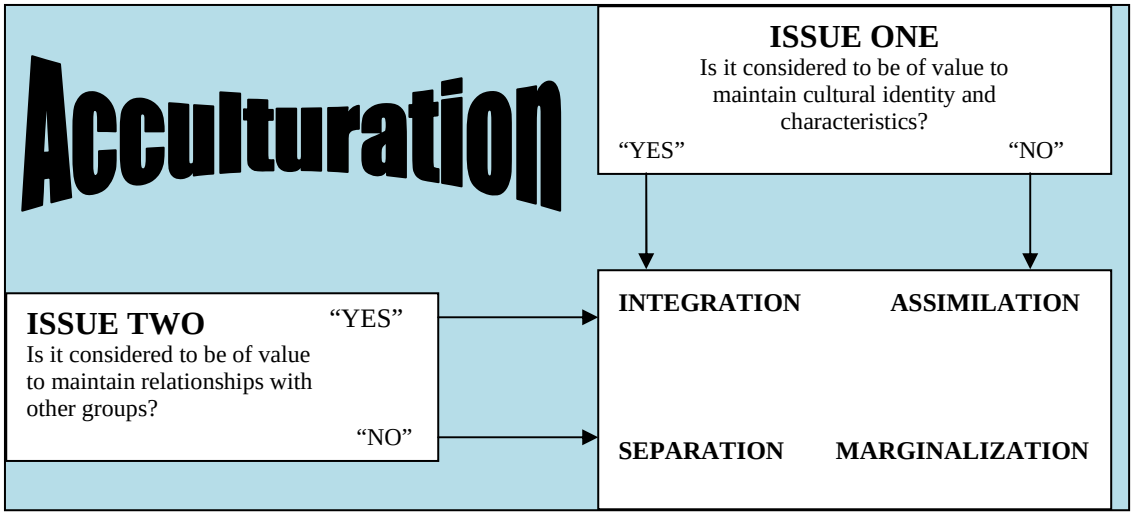


Figure 2: Theoretical Framework for the study of acculturation

Educators need to understand the acculturation process because responses that are culturally inappropriate can be misinterpreted as being the result of learning difficulties (Collier & Hoover, 1987). In one study (Collier, 1986) children referred to special education were in general less acculturated than students who were not referred to special education even though there was no significant difference in their academic levels. Educators need to be trained about the acculturation process to learn to avoid misrepresenting academic ability because of cultural or linguistic ability.

Acculturation and Language

Schumann (1978) developed the Acculturation Model of Second Language Acquisition. In it, he defined acculturation as the "social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language (TL) group" (p.29). Schumann proposed that "social dominance patterns" influence second language learning in that speakers of a dominant group will see little need to learn a subordinated (colonized, marked) variety of language

(p. 30). However if there is a great social distance between the two groups, the subordinated group may not learn the dominant language in order to maintain their identity and culture, as in the case of many Native American tribes of the United States and Mexico. On the other hand, the less socially distant and more equally situated the language groups are, the more likely the subordinate group will acquire the language of the dominant group.

Similar to Berry (2001), Schumann proposed that there are three integration strategies that groups can use: assimilation (adopting the TL culture and language), preservation (rejecting the TL culture and language) and adaptation (adopting some aspects and rejecting others). With regard to individuals, Schumann found that people who are both psychologically and socially distant from the target language group acquire the least amount of the target language.

His specific example of an adult Costa Rican male who learned very little English is particularly useful to the current study. Schumann pointed out that working-class Latin American immigrants are generally more socially distant from English-speaking Americans than some other immigrant groups, even including Latin American immigrants from a professional social class background. Working class Spanish-speaking immigrants have access to English-speaking institutions but tend to stay in areas where Spanish is readily available and used in markets, social arenas, and religious contexts. In my eight years of experience in Austin, this is true for many Mexican immigrants. Many Mexican adults come to English class only when they find it absolutely necessary, as for preparing for the citizenship exam or to receive a promotion

on the job. It is not uncommon for someone who has lived in this country fifteen years or more to come to study English upon retirement in order to be able to communicate better with grandchildren.

Within the acculturation process is the renegotiation of social identity. Social identity is the tension between what I believe about myself to be true and what others around me believe to be true about me. In other words it is the understanding of who I am and how I fit in the social sphere where I reside (Jenkins, 1996).

Social identity is established through language. In every interaction the speaker negotiates who they are and how they relate to the world. This negotiation is often problematic for immigrants (Norton, 2000). As Horwitz (in press) points out, minority children often have to confront their social identity as it is ascribed to them by the dominant group, and this can influence the degree to which they acquire the second language. The issue of Mexican-American girls making fun of Mexican immigrant girls' English in mainstream classrooms as documented in Pappamihiel's (2001) study shows how social distance may deter language acquisition. It is important to note, however, that a sense of psycho-social identity in children usually has not yet been fully developed, and in the lives of teenagers it is in the process of development (Moshman, 2005). In adults, on the other hand, the sense of identity is fully developed and therefore risks to identity may be deemed more threatening than to children or adolescents. If children are likely to have their second language acquisition impacted by the confrontation of their social identity, it stands to reason that adults would be even more likely to have their acquisition affected while negotiating their social identity in the new environment.

Horwitz (in press) also suggests that “blaming the victim” (i.e., the second language learner) for not acquiring the target language in what the teacher considers an acceptable time frame or to an acceptable proficiency level is not valid if it does not take into consideration the effect of the target language group’s response to the learner’s attempts to interact with them. In her study of immigrant women in Canada, Norton (2000) found that “even though the women felt marginalized in Canadian society” they had a strong desire to learn English and a belief that learning English would help them obtain the opportunities for which the immigrated to Canada in the first place. “Indeed, the data indicate that the people who resist interaction are more likely to be members of the dominant language group rather than immigrant language learners” (Norton, 2000, p. 117). Thus, language acquisition cannot be viewed as an individual’s response to the target language group but as the negotiation between the language learner and the target language group, with the target language group holding an inequitable proportion of the symbolic capitol in that negotiation.

ACCULTURATIVE STRESS

"Stress" in general may be defined as the response to internal and/or external demands to adapt to a situation (Monat & Lazarus, 1991). When stress is caused by the internal and external demands placed on an individual in a second culture, it is referred to as "acculturative stress." Acculturative stress is the stress specifically associated with changes that take place as one learns how to live and function in a new culture (Hovey, 2000) . Other terms that refer to this phenomenon are "culture stress," "culture shock," "culture fatigue," "role shock," and "language shock" (Byrnes, 1966; Guthrie, 1975;

Oberg, 1960; Padilla, Olmedo, & Loya, 1982; Smalley, 1963).

Researchers have identified many significant stressors in the immigration pattern. For example, loss of social support causes a great deal of stress. In many instances, people who come from other countries lose the support of extended family and community. Moreover, there is a constant threat of loss once settled in the new culture. The individual may not feel secure in new social networks that are created or have financial constraints that require moving frequently within the new environment (Falicov, 1982; Lum, 1986).

Additionally, there are constant threats to self-concept or identity. Feedback about identity, which is generally obtained from the social network, is not usually available. When language and culture variables are involved, appraisals of one's own abilities and decision making become more difficult. In many cases, the new immigrant may use the knowledge and beliefs that he or she developed in the parent culture to make decisions, even though the knowledge and belief system may or may not apply in the new culture. The result is cultural misunderstandings and miscommunication that sends messages about identity that are inconsistent with what the immigrant "knew" about him- or herself. The less similar the situation is to what is previously known, the more ambiguity the immigrant experiences. "The greater the ambiguity, the more inference is required, and the greater the anxiety as clients bring their own perceptions to the situation in order to fill the informational vacuum" (Smart & Smart, 1995a). Issues of identity reconstruction and loss of social support may cause serious consequences in the individual's coping ability and overall mental health.

Unlike immigrants from European countries, Latino immigrants have to adjust to issues of race which are, unfortunately, still prevalent in the United States. Under the ugly face of discrimination are two important variables: discrimination in general and discrimination against those who have entered the country through illegal means.

Immigrants who enter or stay in the United States illegally are prone to be exploited financially. It is not unusual for them to work for less than minimum wage and more hours than legally allowed. In addition, extremely heinous cases of human trafficking are reported each year. For example, some women who are brought over by coyotes (illegal transporters of human cargo) pay off their "debt" by working in brothels for an indeterminate length of time (refer to the website on human trafficking at usinfo.state.gov for a few specific examples). Many other immigrants have been left to die in the desert or commercial transport trailers after paying for "safe transit" (McLemore, 2003; Wagner, 2005).

Moreover, even Latinos who are in the United States on legitimate visas may have experienced unfair treatment in "employment, education, housing, and other human services" (Padilla, Olmedo, & Loya, 1982; Smart & Smart, 1995b). They may also have the "disorienting experience" of having been a member of the racial majority in their home country and suddenly finding themselves a member of a racial minority in the United States. (Espin, 1987). Finch, Kolody and Vega (2000) found that perceived discrimination was correlated not only with acculturative stress but overall mental health.

Also related to acculturative stress levels is language. Several studies have shown that level of English proficiency has a strong negative correlation with the level of

acculturative stress (Cabrera Strait, 2001; Finch, Kolody, & Vega, 2000; Gambino, 2001; Hovey, 1998; Thomas, 1995). Among Latino immigrants, acculturative stress has shown to be related to higher alcohol abuse (Cabrera, 2001), marital difficulties (Damji Budhwani, 1999), physical health (Smart & Smart, 1995a), and even suicidal ideation (Hovey, 1998).

The Multidimensional Acculturation Scale was developed to measure acculturation in adults of Mexican origin (Rodriguez et al., 2002) The developers of this scale consider acculturation a multi-generational phenomenon and thus tested first and second generation adults of Mexican origin. In testing, the researchers found that four factors accounted for more than sixty-four percent of the variance. These four factors included two for language (one for Spanish competency and one for English competency) and two for acculturation stress (one for pressure to acculturate and one for pressures not to acculturate). Interestingly, "regardless of level of generation, acculturation, or years in the United States, people of Mexican origin perceive that their cultural values, beliefs, and practices conflict with mainstream American ways of doing things"(Rodriguez et al., 2002, p. 459). Nonetheless, the predominant cause of acculturative stress was language.

Language teachers may not be aware of these complex issues facing their students on a daily basis. Adult educators know that many adult students find the classroom to be not only a place to learn language, but to develop their social networks. In fact, "…a teacher's actions, her interest or lack of interest in the participants, and the degree to which she expresses concern and caring for learners all make a difference in their retention in the program" (Canaff & Hutto, 1995, p. 7). In order to help students stay in

language programs, language teachers need to be aware of acculturative stress and its implications in the classroom.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In order to investigate the nature of the relationships among language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress, three instruments were employed and six semi-structured interviews were conducted.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

The principle research question guiding this study was the following: "What are the relationships among and between the constructs of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress?" The specific hypotheses being investigated by the quantitative analyses were as follows:

H(i): A positive relationship exists between language anxiety and acculturative stress. Language anxiety and acculturative stress would overlap in the experiences of adult immigrants.

H(ii): An inverse relationship exists between language anxiety and acculturation. The more acculturated to U.S. culture, the less language anxiety the individual would report.

H(iii): An inverse relationship also exists between acculturation and acculturative stress. The more acculturated to U.S. culture, the less acculturative stress the participant would report.

A secondary question of interest involved the degree of relationship between all three scales: Did the each scale measure only the construct it was designed to measure, or was there a degree of overlap among and between the three constructs pointing to an

overarching phenomenon?

With regard to the purpose of the qualitative interviews, I wanted to understand how adult immigrants experience language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress. What are their experiences as they immigrate with regard to these constructs? How do they interpret these experiences? Did these interpretations align with the experiences indicated by the responses to the items on the three scales?

THE INSTRUMENTS

English Language Anxiety Scale

The current study employed a modified version of The English Language Anxiety Scale (ELAS) (Appendix A), which itself was a modification of the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS) developed by Horwitz (1986). Pappamihiel (1999) adapted the FLCAS to be used with middle school students who were taking both English as a Second Language (ESL) and regular content classes in English. The scale included 23 items, each of which was asked with regard to two contexts: in the ESL class and in the mainstream class. One additional item addressed whether the participant felt more nervous in the ESL class or outside the ESL class.

Given that the target population of the current study is adult immigrants, these items had to be adapted to reflect the life situation of adults. The revised scale is identified by the suffix "AI" for "Adult Immigrant. The ELAS-AI can be found in Appendix B. The distinction of "in ESL" or "in Regular Classes" was changed to "In ESL class" and "Daily Life." In the ESL class context, an additional question was added

to determine if adults were more anxious in small groups or large class settings. In the "Daily Life" section, questions that referred to teachers were changed to refer to "compañeros," which could be translated as co-workers, friends, acquaintances or classmates. Two additional questions were added to this section. One question asked if the participant felt more nervous talking to "White Americans" than with "Chicanos." The other asked if the participant became angry when people that know how to speak Spanish refuse to do so. These questions were based on conversations with my adult immigrant students in Texas who frequently referred to these issues as problematic and stressful. Because the scale was administered by Pappamihiel in Spanish, no translation was necessary, but the items were freshly randomized using a randomization table.

Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale

The Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (SMAS) (Stephenson, 2000) was selected to measure the participants' degree of acculturation (Appendix C). Because the SMAS was designed to be delivered to both first (immigrant) and subsequent generations (non-immigrant), four of the items were not applicable to the target population and were consequently removed from the scale. References to "native language" were uniformly changed to "Spanish" and "native country" was changed to "my country." The scale was then translated into Spanish and back translated into English for verification. Adjustments to the instrument were made accordingly, the items randomized, and the final version, SMAS-RS (Revised/Spanish) can be found in Appendix D.

Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory

The Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI) (Rodriguez et al., 2002) (Appendix E) also dealt with both first and subsequent generations of Americans. Nonetheless, all items were initially left in under the premise that acculturative stress may be caused by feelings of moving away from (abandoning) the native culture, of moving toward the target culture, or, both, simultaneously away from the target culture and toward the native culture. In the next chapter, Data Analysis and Discussion, the reasons for the eventual removal of some items is explained. This inventory was published in Spanish, so no translation was necessary, but it was randomized using a randomization table. The final version can be found in Appendix F.

Pilot Testing of the Scales

All instruments were first pilot tested with a small group of participants similar to the ones who would participate in the study. The demographics of the pilot group can be found in Table 1. The instruments were administered in pen and paper form and then checked orally. With the participant's completed instrument in hand, the researcher asked the question orally and compared the oral response to the previously marked response. Extreme differences in responses between the written and oral forms indicated that some items were more confusing on paper than when heard. Following each question, the pilot participants were asked: (1) to explain what they thought the question meant; (2) if they believed most people would understand the question; (3) if they believed an adult with a 2nd or 3rd grade education would understand the question; (4) to recommend an alternative wording of the question. In some cases, it was necessary to

make changes to the instruments to improve their comprehensibility to participants. The final questionnaires are in Appendices B, D and F.

Table 1: Pilot Group Demographics

Gender	Age	Country	Highest level of education completed
Male	23	Mexico	12th grade
Male	38	Guatemala	5th grade
Female	24	Mexico	University (communications)
Female	39	Mexico	University (accounting)
Male	28	Mexico	9th grade
Female	53	Mexico	2nd grade
Female	45	Mexico	5th grade
Male	26	Mexico	University (computer engineering)

Personal Information

In addition to the instruments used to assess language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress, demographic information was collected from each participant. The first question determined that Spanish was in fact the participant's first language. Because many of my students from Mexico, Central and South America have indicated that they were brought up in a home and town where an indigenous language was spoken, I wanted to be sure that the participants all had Spanish as a first language/first culture basis. Although these individuals whose first language is not Spanish have native competency in Spanish, I excluded them based on their previous language learning and acculturation experience. Next, participants were asked to indicate their country of

origin, and if from Mexico, their state. Age and gender were also requested.

In the next set of questions, certain immigration information was collected, including the month and year of their arrival (from which their age at time of arrival could be determined). Socio-economic data were also collected. Their personal education levels, as well as their fathers' and mothers' education levels, were requested. They also indicated their occupation in their home country and their current occupation.

Information about their English studies was then requested, including if they had studied English prior to coming to the United States (and if so, for how long), if they had studied English in the United States (and if so, for how long and in what kind of program), and their self-analyses of their abilities in speaking, understanding, writing and reading.

DELIVERY METHOD

During the pilot study it became evident that for many participants an oral delivery system would better ensure that the questions were properly understood. After much consideration, the decision was made to develop a multimedia website for the delivery of these instruments.

The process of creating the website involved several steps. Audio versions of the scales were professionally recorded by a local Spanish radio personality. Video clips were recorded for the administrative portion and introduction to each scale. The personality in the video clips was a young Mexican woman who holds a degree in Public Relations and Communication from Tecnológico de Monterey (a Mexican university). The elements were then put in order on a PowerPoint® presentation. Each item was on a

separate presentation page with its accompanying audio and/or video elements. Audio elements for the informed consent and demographic pages were recorded by the researcher. The complete PowerPoint® presentation was then checked by several native Spanish speakers and an American doctoral student in the Spanish linguistics department at this University and minor editing was done. The final presentation was then given to a professional computer programmer from Monterey, Mexico who programmed and hosted the website, including the secure data hosting site. The final website was found at www.glendarose.com.[9] The original order of delivery was: introduction and informed consent, personal data, ELAS in class, SMAS, ELAS in real life, MASI, and finally a form to volunteer to participate in the interviews. After a few weeks of data collection, it became clear that the two ELAS surveys were causing people to think that they had entered a computer "loop" and were back at the beginning. As a result, many people failed to complete the rest of the surveys. Since the real issue under question in this study was the managing of English outside the classroom, the entire ELAS in class section was removed. Additionally, the time it took to take the survey via the website hindered the completion rate. Originally, the surveys took 45 minutes to an hour to complete. Removing the "ELAS in class" clearly helped, but additionally, questions in the MASI that were directed more toward second or subsequent generations were removed to reduce the time required to complete the test battery. Also, some participants mentioned that not knowing where they were in the process was discouraging. As a result, each slide was modified to indicate the number of the question, and the number of questions in

[9] As of March 15, 2008, the website is no longer available on the web for security. Following data collection it was terminated.

that section.

The order of the final website program is summarized in Table 2 and sample pages are in Appendix G.

Table 2: Summary of Website Flow

Progress Level	Topic	Media Types	Options	Pages
Introduction	General Introduction	Video Clip	Quit/ Continue	1
Informed Consent	Informed Consent Form	Written, Short Audio Introduction	Refuse and Quit/ Print / Continue	1
Thanks	Thanks for participation and introduction to demographic questions	Video Clip	Quit/ Continue	1
Language Criteria	Is Spanish the participant's first language?	Written/ Audio	Yes/ No / No Answer	1
	If "NO" - Thank you for participating	Written / Audio	Exits program	
Country of Origin	Participant's home country	Written / Audio / National Flags	Flag / No answer	1
	IF "Mexico" - What State?	Written / Audio / Map of Mexico	State / No answer	1
Age Criteria	Eliminates underage participants	Written / Audio	Drop Down Menu / Continue / No Answer / After 1987	1
	IF "After 1987" - Thank you for participating	Written / Audio	Exits program	
Gender	Elicits Gender	Written / Audio	Man / Woman / No answer	1

Progress Level	Topic	Media Types	Options	Pages
Length of Residence	Asks the month and year of entry to the U.S.	Written / Audio	Drop Down Menu / Continue / No Answer	1
Education	Asks for personal, mother and father's educational level	Written / Audio	Drop Down Menu / Continue/ No Answer	3
Work	Asks for home-country and current occupations	Written/ Audio	Open Response / Continue / No Answer	2
English Study	Asks if English was studied in the home country or the US	Written / Audio	Yes/ No / No Answer	2
	Asks how long English was studied in home country and US if the prior response was "yes"	Written / Audio	Open Response / Continue / No Answer	2
	Asks in what kind of program English was studied	Written / Audio	Drop Down List / No Answer	2
Self-Assessments	Asks participants to rate their degree of skill in terms of percent for speaking, reading, writing and understanding English	Written / Audio / Graphic	Drop Down Menu / Continue	5
Transition	States the number of surveys, the expected completion time, and gives contact information	Written / Graphic	Continue	1
SMAS-RS	Video on Intro only and then each item	Written / Audio	Button List / Continue	1 intro + 28 items
ELAS - AI (Daily Life)	Video on Intro only and then each item	Written / Audio	Button List / Continue	1 intro + 25 items

Progress Level	Topic	Media Types	Options	Pages
MASI - RR	Video on Intro only and then each item	Written / Audio	Yes/ No / Continue	1 intro, 1 admin ("turn off popup blocker") and 30 items
	YES answers had popup window displayed	Written / Optional Audio	Button List / Continue	varied
Closing	Thanks for participation, optional form for contact information	Video Clip / Written	Open Response Form / Exit	1

The first section's video introduced the study purpose and led to the informed consent page. The first paragraph of the informed consent form was also available on audio. The bottom of the screen gave three options, one to refuse and leave the study, another to print the form and continue, and a third to continue without printing.

The second video section thanked the participants for agreeing to the study and introduced the personal data section. The personal data questions were programmed to play at the opening of each frame. The recording could then be repeated if desired by clicking on a sound icon. Because of the sensitive nature of some of the personal data questions, each page had an option "Prefer not to answer" so that participants could continue through the program without having to respond to questions they were not comfortable answering.

The final section of the introduction included four frames in which participants indicated their assessment of their reading, writing, listening and speaking ability in English. Following this self-analysis of ability, a frame introduced the number of surveys (3) and the length of time expected to complete it (10-15 minutes). This frame also

contained my email address (which was also found on each frame of the surveys) in case of any difficulties.

The third video segment introduced the acculturation scale, SMAS. The recordings for all scales were made by a professional Spanish radio personality. The participant therefore could both see and hear the question. The options in the SMAS were changed from the 4-point scale (false/partly false/partly true/true) to a 5-point scale (completely agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or completely disagree).

The fourth video segment introduced the ELAS. Based on the pilot study, some of the wording was changed slightly, and the neutral option ("sin una opinion determinada," i.e., without a fixed opinion) was changed to "Ni de acuerdo ni en desacuerdo" (neither agree nor disagree).

The fifth video segment introduced the MASI. Because the MASI included a Yes/No option before the degree of stress was indicated, a pop-up window was utilized. Problems were found early on for people who had pop-up blockers. The first screen in this section, therefore, let the participant know that the pop-up blocker had to be turned off. If they did not know how to do this, they could contact me via email. The audio file that played in the pop-up window ("How much stress has this situation caused you in the last three months?") was deleted because during preliminary testing it was found to be annoying to participants and likely to encourage withdrawal. The following questions were deleted from the MASI following pilot testing in order to shorten the length of time required of participants to complete all surveys, and because they were clearly directed at subsequent generations:

- 02 - Me molesta que hablo español con acento. (It bothers me that I speak Spanish with an accent.)

- 03 - A veces, quisiera ser más Mexicano/Latinoamericano. (At times I want to be more Mexican/Latin-American.)

- 09 - Me siento incómodo/a cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo Mexicano/Latinoamericano de hacer las cosas. (I feel uncomfortable when others expect me to know the Mexican/Latin-American way of doing things.)

- 10 -Como no hablo bien el español, la gente me ha tratado mal ó injustamente. (Because I don't speak Spanish well, people have treated me badly or unjustly.)

- 17 - Estoy consciente de mi mismo/a por mis raíces Americanas. (I am self-conscious because of my American roots.)

- 20 - He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando español. (I have been discriminated against because I have difficulty speaking Spanish.)

- 22 - Me siento incómodo/a alrededor de gente que sólo habla español. (I feel uncomfortable around people who only speak Spanish.)

- 23 - Por mi origen cultural, tengo dificultad relacionándome con Mexicanos/Latinoamericanos. (Due to my cultural background, I have

difficulty relating to Mexicans/Latin-Americans.)

- 24 - No hablo español o no lo hablo bien. (I don't speak Spanish or I don't speak it well.)

- 25 - Tengo dificultad para entender a la gente cuando habla en español. (I have difficulty understanding people when they speak Spanish.)

- 26 - Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos Mexicanos/Latinos de hacer cosas. (I feel uncomfortable because my family doesn't know the Mexican/Latin ways of doing things.)

- 36 - Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores Americanos (por ejemplo, mi independencia). (It bothers me when people don't respect my American values (for example, my Independence)).

The final page of the website thanked the participants and provided a form for them to give personal contact information. This information was collected in a separate database that could not be tied to responses in order to ensure confidentiality. Again, all of the administrative and demographic pages and sample pages of each scale of the final version of the webpage can be found in Appendix G.

SETTING AND SAMPLE

Setting

English Now is a nonprofit organization that I founded in 2001 to meet what I perceived as a critical lack of service to adult immigrants in Austin. In general, there are

two types of English as a Second Language (ESL) classes offered in Austin. Programs requiring payment, such as at the University of Texas or one of the many language academies, may provide strong programs but are prohibitively expensive for most Latino immigrants. Free programs are provided through the public school system and community college and various religious and literacy organizations, but the programs vary in size and quality. Teachers in the free programs may or may not have training in teaching English, much less a degree in language pedagogy. Often, in community programs volunteers are used who may or may not be given training. Furthermore, classes typically meet two-hours a night, two nights a week, which means that many adults cannot attend at all because they work nights, or fall hopelessly behind because they have rotating work schedules or have to leave town for work or family reasons.

The concept behind English Now is that adults, as problem solvers, are able to direct their own learning provided they have adequate space, time, guidance and assistance. English Now, therefore, was set up as a community center that is open from morning until night (typically 10 to 9) and on Saturdays so that adults could come and study according to their schedules. The program is considerably different from a scholastic environment in many ways. One, the members are given a learning plan with specific steps that they must complete before taking an exam, but the order of those steps, the time it takes to complete them, when they choose to work on them, and even where they choose to work on them (at home or in the center) is entirely up to them. They also have a great deal of control over the amount of direct instruction they receive. While they are required to present each chapter to an instructor, they do not have to have the

instructor explain every activity if they understand it on their own. This program, therefore, works well for adults with limited time but high motivation. Many new members find the freedom disconcerting in the beginning, but most come to enjoy the liberty to study when, how and to some extent what they choose. Computer literacy is integrated into the program through exercises directly relating to the text series, internet exercises from the publisher, as well as projects that often require internet searches and the use of Word, Excel or Publisher. As a result, these initial participants were perhaps more familiar with computers than the general immigrant population.

Sample Demographics

Participants were initially selected through snowball chain sampling (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996). Members of English Now were first asked to take the survey. The members of English Now who agreed to participate in this study were then asked to email those of their acquaintances who fit the population parameters (adult immigrants learning English as a Second Language in the United States whose native language was Spanish). In order to encourage more individuals to complete the surveys, I also engaged in purposeful sampling by emailing invitations to various adult literacy organizations in Austin where Spanish speaking immigrants might be studying English. Five hundred business cards with an invitation to participate in this survey were also purposefully distributed to Spanish speakers at various places (taco restaurants, churches, literacy classes).

The resulting participants are described in the sections below. Since this is not a randomized sample, statistics about the general foreign born population as it relates to

various demographic statistics are provided where possible, so that the reader might make a determination as to how similar the current participants are to the wider foreign born population in the United States.

Gender, Age, and Residency

The sample consisted of 23 (43%) men, 29 (55%) women and 3 participants who declined to indicate their gender. This ratio is slightly inconsistent with the national estimates of the average foreign born individual (not specifying country of origin) in Texas of 52% male and 48% female ("2006 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State," 2008). Estimates for Mexican immigrants nationwide are similar (54% male, 46% female) (Gutiérrez, Wallace, and Castañeda, 2004). **Error! Reference source not found.** is a visual representation of the gender distribution in this study as it relates to these estimates.

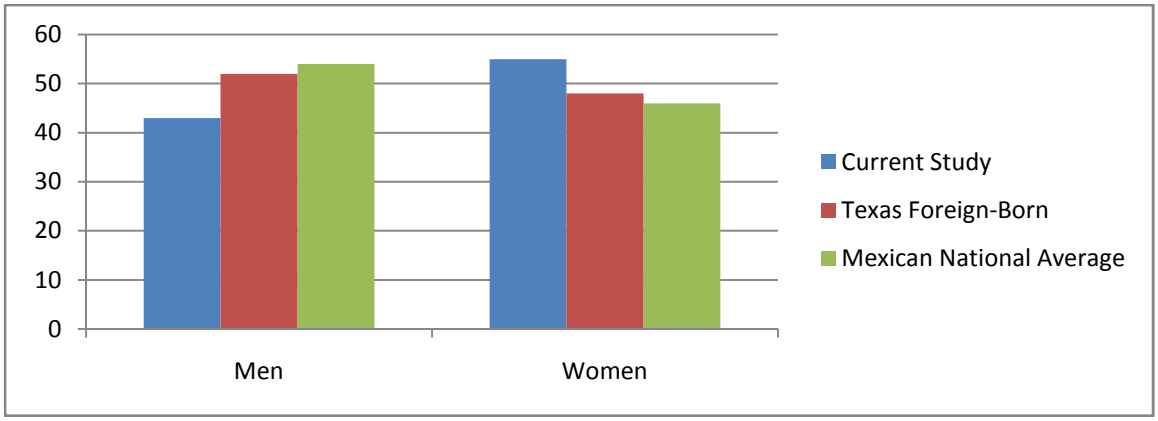


Figure 3: Gender Distribution by Percent

With regard to age, five participants chose not to provide their age and four participants did not change the default value of birth year 1935 on the screen and were treated as "decline to respond" The mean age was 33 (n=46). The median age for all foreign-born immigrants in Texas in 2006 was 37.2 years ("2006 American Community

Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State," 2008)("2006 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State," 2008). The standard deviation for age, though, was relatively high, 11.57 years, indicating that the majority of the respondents were between 22 and 44 years of age. The actual range in this study was from 20 to 61 years which is comparable to the estimate that 63% of the foreign born population in Texas is between 25 and 64 ("2006 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State," 2008). Figure 4 shows the distribution of the 46 participants who responded to the question regarding age.

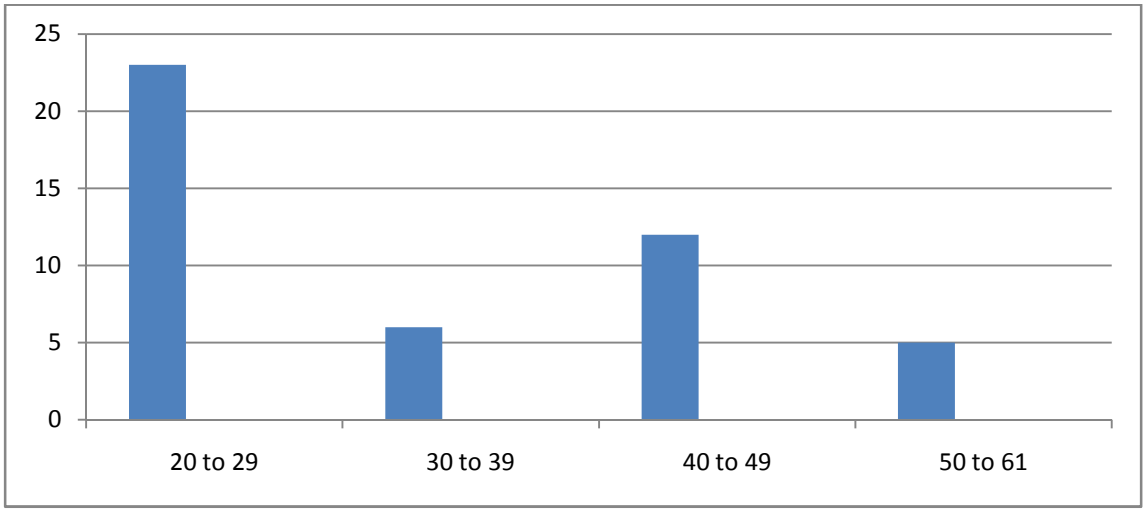


Figure 4: Age Frequencies (n=46)

Age of entry (derived by subtracting year of birth from year of entry) averaged 28 years, with a standard deviation of 9.2 years, which is comparable to the national average of 21 years (Gutiérrez, Wallace, and Castañeda, 2004). The range was from 16 to 44 years. The length of time spent living in the United States was calculated by counting the months between responses to the month/year of entry and the survey registry

identification date. The average length of residence was 5.8 years, with a standard deviation of 5.37 and a range of 4 months to 25.5 years. Figure 5 consolidates this information.

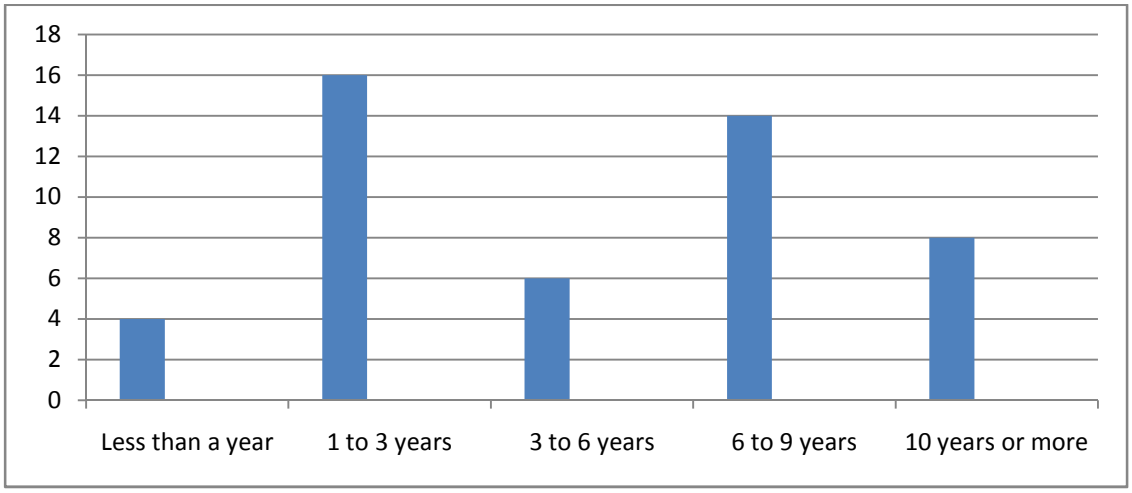


Figure 5: Length of Residence in the U.S.

Country of Origin

Most of the participants (74.5%) were from Mexico. Of those who came from Mexico, the majority (41%) came from Central Mexico (Guanajuato or Mexico State/Federal District). Another 17.72% hailed from South America (Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador). Central Americans from El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras comprised another 7.2% of the sample. The specific frequencies are listed in Table 3.

Table 3: Countries of Origin

North America	Mexico	41
Central America	Guatemala	1
	Honduras	1

	El Salvador	2
South America	Ecuador	1
	Bolivia	1
	Peru	3
	Venezuela	2
Caribbean	Cuba	1
Europe	Spain	1
	No answer	1

This distribution is slightly different from the overall population of Spanish-speaking immigrants listed in the 2006 Census, which reports 84% of Latino immigrants in Texas being Mexican (the national average is 67%), 11% from Central America, 5% from South America and 1% from Cuba ("2006 American Community Survey and Census Data on the Foreign Born by State," 2008). The deviation from state and national averages may have to do with the socio-economic status of the adult immigrant student or the decision to study English as a second language. South Americans, for example, are more than 30% more likely to have graduated college, which usually includes some English language requirements (Lowell & Suro, 2002). It would be interesting in the future to investigate the effect of country of origin on participation in literacy programs of different types, such as university Intensive English Programs versus free community-based ESL classes.

Education

The education levels of the participants were more or less evenly distributed. Of the fifty-three participants who responded to the questions asking for their personal highest level of education, only seventeen (32%) had not completed high school. It is

important to consider at this point that in Mexico "graduating" means graduation from "la secundaria," which is the equivalent of U.S. Middle School (9 years). Nine of the seventeen (53% of those who had not graduated, 17% of the total) had graduated from the 9th grade which means that only eight (15%) did not complete a primary education. Thirty-six of the participants (68%) had finished High School (12 years), and seventeen (32%) of those had gone on to attend university. Eleven (21%) of those who attended college had graduated, and one (2%) had a post-graduate (doctoral) degree. In 2000, the national average for the highest level of education of Spanish-speaking adult immigrants was similar to this study's sample: 18% having less than a primary education, 33% having only a primary education, 50% having graduated from high school and 18% being college graduates (Lowell and Suro, 2002).

The education levels of the participants' parents reflect the changes occurring in Central and South America in that younger generations are more likely to stay in school for longer periods of time (Lowell and Suro, 2002). Seventy-four percent of fathers had less than a high school education with 63% having less than a primary education. Only 15% of the participants reported that their fathers had attended university with 11% having graduated. The statistics were similar for the mothers: 76% had less than a high school education, 65% less than a primary education. Mother's were more likely to complete high school (10% for women 5% for men) but less likely to attend and graduate college (6% and 4% respectively).

English Studies

Of the 53 participants who responded to the question about English study in the

home country, 58% (32) indicated that they had not studied English prior to coming to the United States. From experience, I would point out that this statistic should be viewed with caution. It is very common for a new student to say that they have "never" studied English. Yet, when directly questioned about any English they may have studied in secondary (U.S. middle) or preparatory (U.S. high) school, most would admit that they had studied English "a little," generally 1 hour a day, 2 or 3 days a week. Many of my students make comments that they "passed through the doors," meaning they were in the class because it was required but they didn't pay attention and therefore report that they have never had English classes. For all intents and purposes, when someone says they have never studied English, it generally means that they do not know any English beyond social pleasantries (e.g., *please, thank you,* and *excuse me*) and a few classroom items such as *table, book* and *pencil.*

Of the 21 individuals (38%) who indicated that they had studied English prior to coming to the US, the average length of study was 7 months, with a standard deviation of 17.69 months and a range of 1 to 60 months. As seen in Figure 6, the majority of those who had studied English as a Foreign Language (EFL) had a year or less of study.

Roughly two-thirds of the participants had studied or were currently studying English at the time they participated in the study (36 out of 55, or 65.5%). Two people preferred not to respond to the question, but the remaining 17 reported that they had not studied English in the United States prior to participating in the study. Figure 7 clearly shows that the majority of English studied in the U.S. had been for one year or less.

The combined total of total length of time English was reported to have been

studied at the time of participation in this study are shown in Figure 8. The mean was around 14 months and the median only 6 months.

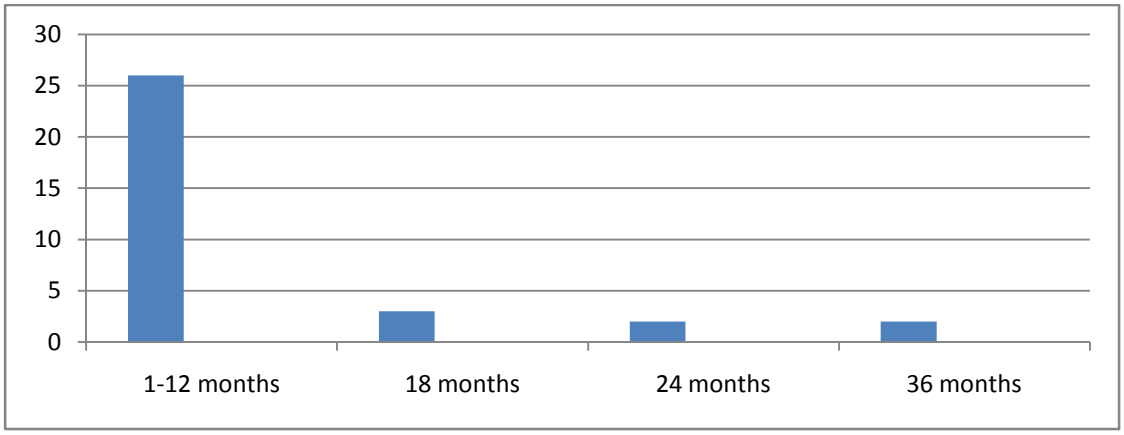


Figure 6: Length of EFL Studied by Months (n=21)

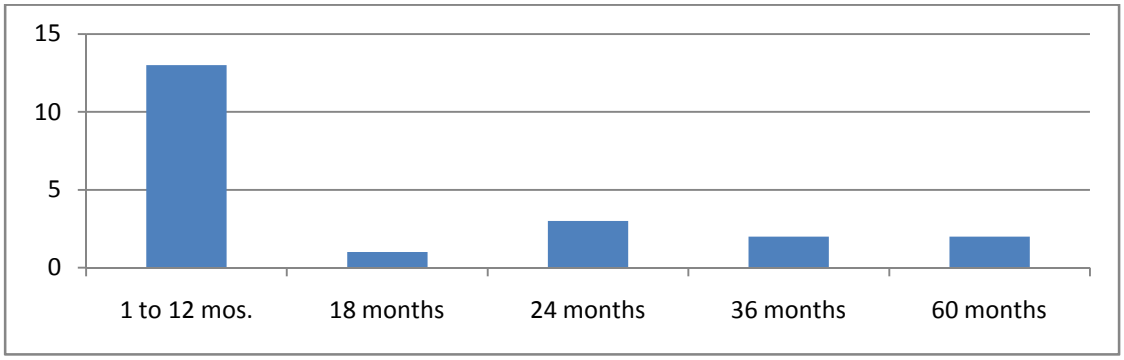


Figure 7: Length of ESL Studied by Months (n=36)

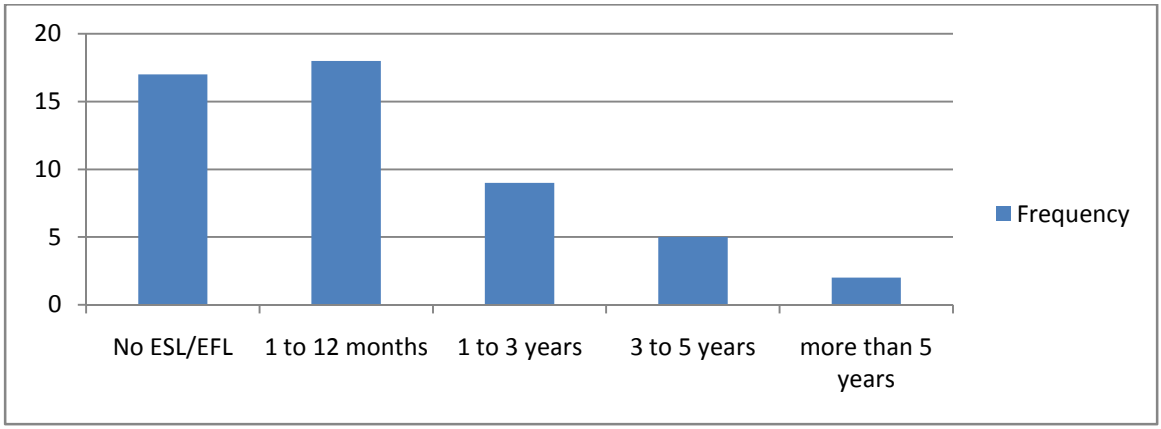


Figure 8: Total English Studied (EFL + ESL) (n=51)

Self Analysis of English Abilities

Four of the questions in the demographic section dealt with the individual's self-analysis of their English ability. As discussed in the literature review, anxiety arousal is mediated by perceived self-efficacy (Bandura and Adams, 1977), so it is important to understand how these particular participants perceive their English abilities. Their feelings about their abilities, however, may or may not be a reflection of their actually abilities. Blanche and Merino (1989) reviewed the studies on self-analysis and determined that in those studies self-analysis was either a good or very good measure of actual ability. On the other hand, Ross (1998) showed that the statistical methods used may not have been providing the most accurate picture of ability. In 1996, Huang and Chang showed that students' perceptions of their ability could be higher or lower than their actual ability in a study of adult students in an Intensive English Program.

Regardless of the technical accuracy of these data, beliefs about their abilities influence decisions people make about entering into certain situations, because people have a tendency to avoid situations that they feel they are unable to handle (Bandura,

Adams, & Beyer, 1977). This implies that a second language learner's perception of his or her ability may be as important, or even more important, in determining that learner's potential use of the language than his or her actual skill proficiency. These responses provide insight into how the individual participant *feels* about his or her English ability in different areas, which may indicate how likely he or she would be to *use* English in different contexts.

The responses to the questions regarding self-analysis of ability in this study were scored by percent, meaning that the individual could select any number from 0 to 100 to represent their ability in a given area. All participants responded to these questions and there were no missing responses in the cases selected for analysis (n=55).

The productive skills, speaking and writing, received lower scores than the receptive skills, writing and reading. That is, the participants were less certain of their ability to speak and write English than to understand and read English. They were most certain about their reading skills, with a mean of 35.64 (sd=31.85) and a median of 29. Listening comprehension was close behind with a mean of 30.16 (sd=29.29) and a median of 25. Writing was the highest of the productive skills with a mean of 27.35 (sd=26.71) and a median of 21. Finally, the participants were the least sure about their speaking ability, with a mean of 23.22 (sd=24.8) and median of 15. In paired t-tests, the difference between the productive and receptive skills was significant. For reading and writing, the t-value was -4.151 ($p<.001$) and for speaking and listening it was -3.638 ($p<.001$).

Because of the large standard deviation and the difference between the means and

medians in each category (indicating skewness), the categories of Beginner (0 to 33), Intermediate (34 to 66), and Advanced (67 to 100) were created to better understand the responses. Figure 9 demonstrates that the majority of the participants considered themselves to be beginners in all categories.

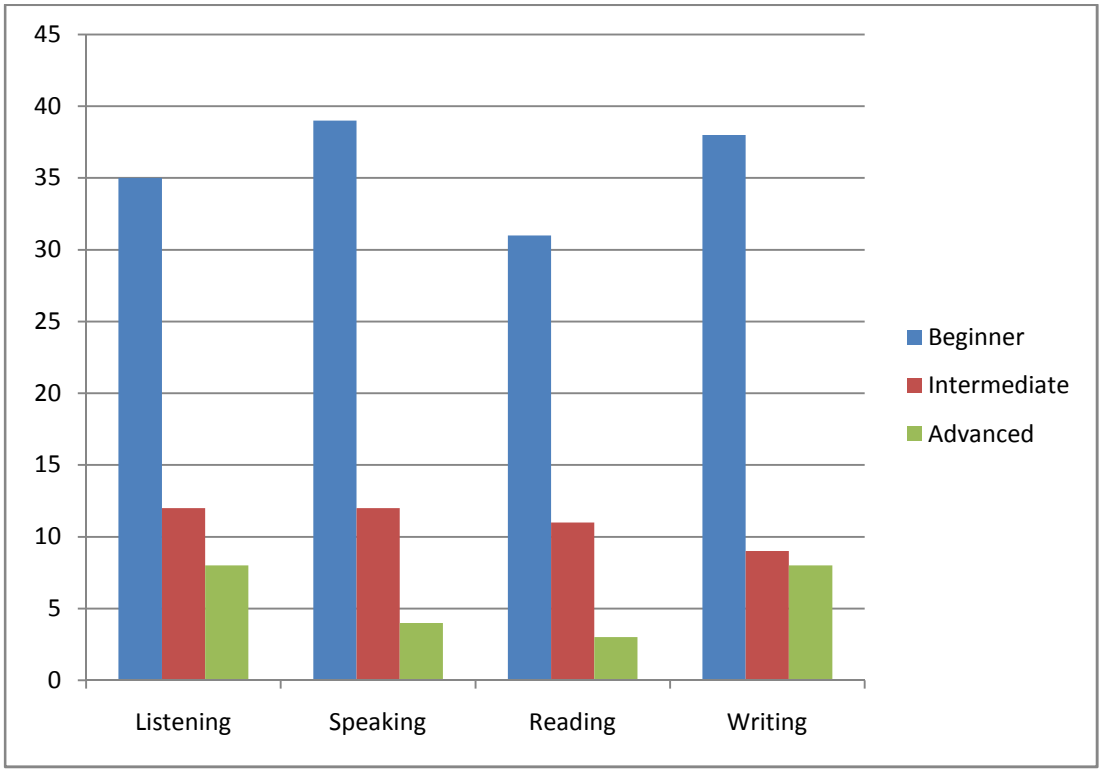


Figure 9: Summary of Self-Analysis of ESL Skills

Summary of Demographic Information

To summarize, the participants of this study are similar in age and country of origin as the national averages. More women than men completed the surveys. The participants are predominantly Mexican with a Middle or High School education and have family backgrounds that indicate a low socio-economic status. In general, these participants have studied English for less than a year and perceive themselves as

beginners in all four skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. Their lengths of residence in the United States vary a great deal, but most have lived in the United States for more than one year.

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

After the quantitative data collection, six semistandardized interviews (Gall, Borg, & Gall, 1996) were conducted. Participants were selected from those that provided their contact information on the survey form. They were purposefully selected to vary in all aspects of their experience. Three were male and three were female. They had varying lengths of residence in the United States and ranged from beginning English to advanced English levels. Respondents were allowed to choose Spanish, English or both for the interview. The questions asked of all six interview participants were:

1. The first questions were asked to gage the respondents' basic understanding of language registers. My objective was to see if they recognized different levels of Spanish existed, and the appropriateness of different registers of language for different contexts.
    a. **How would you describe your Spanish?**
    b. **What makes "good" Spanish?**
    c. **Who speaks "good" Spanish?**
2. The next questions were asked to determine what they believed was the standard toward which they were striving in their English. Immediately following the "good Spanish" question, I also wanted to find out if they could make the connection between different registers of Spanish and corresponding differences

in English. I thought that perhaps unrealistic standards for English could influence their language anxiety and acculturative stress.

   a. **How would you describe your English?**
   b. **What makes "good" English?**
   c. **Who speaks "good" English?**

3. Next, I wanted to take the participant back to his or her first experiences in English. I wanted to understand how they felt and how they managed the situation. I also wanted to gain insight into how they perceived the reaction of their interlocutor. I thought that their feelings about their experiences may indicate something about the acculturation and language anxiety experiences.

   a. **I'd like you to think of one of the first times you had a conversation in English with a native English speaker.**
      i. **How did you feel?**
      ii. **What were you thinking?**
      iii. **What did you believe the English speaker was thinking?**

4. Following their initial experiences, I asked them about recent experiences. By asking this, I hoped to find out if their feelings had changed and if their perceptions of the experience of speaking with a native speaker had also changed. I expected to find a greater difference in experience for those who had intermediate or advanced levels of English, in this case also corresponding with a longer period of residence in the United States, than for those who were beginning and had been in the United States for less time.

   a. **I'd like for you think of a recent conversation you had in English with a native English speaker.**
      i. **How did you feel?**
      ii. **What were you thinking?**
      iii. **What did you believe the English speaker was thinking?**

5. The next questions dealt with language preference. Language anxiety would likely inhibit the use of English when it was not necessary. Those who enjoy English should be using it in public venues. Likewise, not using English would indicate less acculturation and more acculturative stress.
   a. **When you go to a store (variations: clinic, department of motor vehicles, restaurant, etc.), how do you ask for help?**
   b. **Which language do you use?**
   c. **Why?**
6. The final set of questions was intended to illicit anxiety producing or stressful situations. The underlying purpose was to understand if and how the participants managed their emotions to be able to function in society.
   a. **Can you think of a situation in which language caused a problem?**
   b. **Tell me what happened.**
   c. **How did you feel about the person you were talking to?**
   d. **How did you feel about yourself?**
   e. **What did you do to resolve the problem?**

Subsequent probing questions were asked depending on the responses, as well as

clarification and verification questions to ensure understanding of the speakers intended meaning. Sometimes questions asked in English were repeated in Spanish to ensure they were understood. Likewise, participants were sometimes encouraged to repeat an answer in Spanish to check meaning. The interviews were fairly short, ranging from 15 to 30 minutes depending on the participant's willingness to expound on his or her comments.

These data were transcribed in the language of the interview. The transcriptions were then verified by a third party to ensure the accuracy of the transcription. Translations were not conducted unless the comment is being used in this report. The data were imported into XSight, a program for assisting in the analysis of qualitative data. They were then analyzed thematically with regards to language and immigration issues.

DATA MANAGEMENT AND CONFIDENTIALITY MEASURES

Data collected via the website were stored in two password secured database files, one for instrument data and one for contact information. These database files were downloaded at the end of the data collection period and the website shut down to protect the interests of the participants. To further protect the confidentiality of the raw data, a non-shareable, restricted access folder was created in which to keep all files on my laptop computer. The laptop itself is password protected and restricted from remote access. The dissertation folder was set up for restricted access. Each file was also set as restricted access for viewing or editing. Backups of the files were kept on a separate external hard drive that was either in my possession or locked in my desk or file cabinet.

All quantitative data were imported into SPSS. There were 95 cases initially in the data set. Of these 15 were immediately excluded for not having any responses

beyond the initial identification coding.

In preparation for analysis, any data that were collected from the "ELAS-Classroom context" survey were immediately discarded since this survey was ultimately removed to decrease the time investment of the participants.[10] Four items were then reverse coded: (1) doesn't feel nervous speaking with native speakers; (2) enjoys speaking English; (3) fully confident speaking English; and (4) Not worried about errors in English. The entire ELAS-Real World context data were then reverse coded so that the higher number, the higher the stress indicated.

Data from the acculturative stress (MASI) items that were eventually removed from the website were also discarded. All MASI items were recoded with 1 for "yes" and 2 for "no." Stress responses to the MASI were reverse coded if they were against acculturation or Spanish competency pressures: (1) doesn't feel accepted by Mexicans/Latinos; (2) feels pressured to learn Spanish; (3) bothered when people assume they speak English; (4) has had conflicts because s/he prefers U.S. customs over Latino ones; and (5) people look down on him/her if s/he practices U.S. customs.

Items of the acculturation scale (SMAS) that favored United States culture were reverse coded (for example, "Feels comfortable in the United States"), so that the higher the number, the higher the degree of acculturation.

The recordings were recorded directly to computer files that were also restricted access and password protected. A disk was made that was either in my possession, the possession of the verifier, or locked in my desk or filing cabinet. The recordings were

[10] These items were only answered for those who took the survey in the first two months of the twelve months of data collection.

transcribed into password-protected Word files. Printouts of the transcriptions were kept near my person, with the exception of being given to the individual who double checked the accuracy of the transcribed interviews. The checker is also a doctoral candidate and has human subjects training through the university.

After the transcriptions were verified, changes were made to the electronic version and the paper files destroyed. File names were changed to avoid recognition and the CD copy of the audio recording was also destroyed.

DATA ANALYSES

In order to address the primary research question, "What are the relationships among and between the constructs of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress?" SPSS was utilized to calculate descriptive statistics and correlations.

Correlations between the language anxiety scale and the acculturative stress scale was calculated to determine if a positive relationship existed as hypothesized. Individual item correlations were also calculated to see where relationships exist. Likewise, correlations between the language anxiety scale and acculturation scale and there items were also calculated to determine if an inverse relationship was present between those two constructs. Finally, an inverse relationship between acculturation and acculturative stress was investigated using correlations between those scales and their individual items. With regard to the degree of overlap among and between the constructs, the strength of the correlations among all items was calculated using Cronbach's alpha to investigate to what degree the three scales were measuring a single construct, instead of three unrelated constructs.

Qualitative interviews were analyzed using XSight software. The data were segmented and then classified into categories. New categories were added until no further categories were necessary. The categories were then collapsed where possible into broader headings. This method was repeated until the data seemed to best fit in the headings to which they had been assigned. The data were then interpreted along those categories in light of the quantitative analyses.

Chapter Four: Analysis and Discussion of Data

Data analysis occurred in several phases. First, the quantitative data were examined to determine if individual cases could be used to analyze the relationships among language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress. After that, correlations were calculated to address the specific hypotheses regarding the relationships among the scales. Then additional correlations were run to more precisely examine the relationships among the items in the various scales. Next, the qualitative data were examined and classified. Finally, the results of both the quantitative and qualitative elements were analyzed together.

REDUCTION OF THE INITIAL QUANTITATIVE DATA SET

Several measures had to be taken with regard to the quantitative data before they could be analyzed. In the original data set there were ninety-five cases. The relatively few number of cases yielded after a year of collection may be the result of underestimating the effect of the digital divide (Selwyn, Gorard, & Williams, 2001). Although Hispanic Americans are twice as likely to own computers now as 10 years ago, they are still 40% less likely to have Internet access than their White American counterparts (Steele-Carlin, 2001). According to Ono and Zavodny (2007), Hispanic immigrant adults are even less likely to own computers or have Internet access. In fact, it appears that in the period from 1997 to 2003, the digital divide widened with regard to adult immigrants, whether or not computer access was in-home or in a public forum. Computer use at work was the only area that did not significantly change. Furthermore,

Spanish-speaking immigrant households are nearly half as likely (42%) to own a computer compared to other immigrant groups. The ready availability of Internet access in places like Internet cafés or the public library have not yet been successful at reaching the Spanish-speaking immigrant population, although as English level improves, the likelihood of computer ownership and Internet use does increase (Ono & Zavodny, 2007).

As described previously, computers at English Now are integrated into the curriculum from the member's[11] first day of study. Most members utilize the *Interchange* series (Richards, 2004), which has a companion computer program where they can engage in additional listening, grammar, and vocabulary exercises. Additional exercises are provided by the publisher on the Internet. Moreover, the projects that members create at the end of each unit often include Internet research, and many English Now members choose to prepare their projects using Word or Excel so that they can simultaneously increase their English and computer literacy skills. As a result, English Now members are perhaps more familiar with computers than immigrants not involved in English study or taking classes where computer literacy is not also emphasized.

Because of their relation to the researcher and the ease of computer Internet access, English Now members were the first participants to take the surveys online. However, asking the members of English Now to extend invitations to participate in the study to their friends, family, and acquaintances via the Internet in order to create a snowball or chain sample proved to be ineffective, as did passing out business card

[11] English Now considers its clients "members" rather than students because even though they are students of English, they are members of the center, having a great deal of control over when, what and how they study as well as providing input and assistance with regard to the operation of the community center itself.

invitations or emailing other literacy organizations. Thus, ultimately, because of the method of delivery of these surveys, the sample size was much smaller than originally expected.

In reviewing the original response set, it was clear that responses in many of the cases were incomplete. As noted earlier, fifteen of the cases only had identification numbers. These cases were treated as refusals to participate as they did not continue through the informed consent page, and for that reason they were rejected for analysis. Of the eighty remaining cases, twenty-five cases had responses for only one of the three surveys. Since the focus of this study is the relationships between and among the three constructs, these data were also excluded from analysis. Hence, the final number of cases used in the analysis was fifty-five.

SCALE SUMMARIES

A general overview of the three scales, including their means, standard deviations, and range, is found in Table 4.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics for All Scales

	Language Anxiety	Acculturation	Acculturative Stress
Mean	89.23	60.82	7.82
St. Dev.	19.4	17.03	9.42
Min.	37	28	0
Max.	119	102	40
n	55	55	55

Inter-item correlations of the modified English Language Anxiety Scale were still

sufficiently high to produce a high coefficient of reliability, (Cronbach's alpha = .923), indicating that the modifications made to the scale for use in the study did not adversely affect the reliability of the scale. In fact, the consistency among items was slightly higher than that which was reported by Pappamihiel (1999).

In this version of the scale, the maximum total score was 125. The mean response was 89 (sd=19.4). By dividing the possible maximum score into thirds, a score of 0 to 41 was considered low anxiety, 42 to 81as moderate, and 82 and higher as high anxiety. By this estimation, the average participant was highly anxious. In fact, as shown in Figure 10, 62% of the participants tested as highly anxious and 36% in the moderately anxious category. Only 2% (1 individual) registered low anxiety. These numbers were much higher than anticipated. The usual rate of anxious individuals is around 33% (Horwitz, 2000).

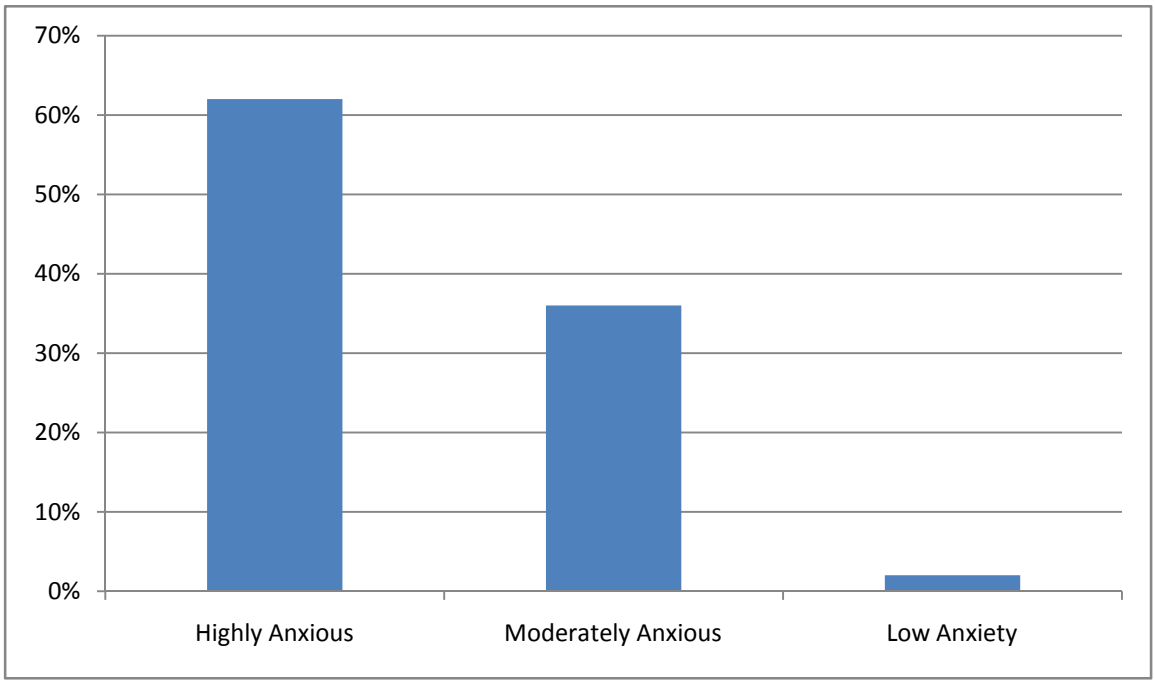


Figure 10: Participants Levels of Language Anxiety

The reliability of the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale was also relatively high, (Cronbach's alpha=.903), slightly higher than the published reliability (.860), indicating that the modifications made, including translation, did not adversely affect the reliability of the scale.

The maximum response for this version was 140. The mean was 60.81 (sd 17). Breaking the maximum response into thirds, most participants were in the process of adapting to life in the United States (78%). Only 18% were still completely oriented toward their home culture, and very few (4%) were more or less acculturated to life in the United States.

The reliability of the Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory was lower (Cronbach's alpha=.720), but still an acceptable level by the social science standard of .700 as a cutoff (Nunnally, 1978). Furthermore, this level of reliability corresponds to Rodriguez et al.'s estimates (Cronbach's alpha=.74 to .91). Rodriguez et al. calculated the reliability of each section of the scale: Spanish competency pressures (.75), English competency pressures (.89), pressure to acculturate (.83) and pressure against acculturation (.74). The overall reliability for the scale was .91. Considering that Cronbach's alpha is expected to show how well the items measure a single construct, the fact that this measure of consistency is higher on the overall scale than in the subsections may indicate that the scale as a whole measures the construct of acculturative stress better than its subsets.

In the current study, only two Spanish competency questions were included: (1) "It bothers me when people assume that I speak Spanish"; and (2) "I feel pressured to

learn Spanish". Since these two questions were not designed for first generation immigrants but for subsequent generations, positive answers to these questions required closer investigation. Seven participants indicated they felt pressured to learn Spanish. In looking at these individuals, five had less than a basic education. Their responses to this question may indicate that these individuals felt that their first language studies were not complete, just as someone with an elementary education in the United States might indicate that they need to learn to read, write, and speak English in a more standard manner. The other two individuals had started university studies but had left their studies to come to the United States. They also may have been considering their first language studies as incomplete. None of these seven reported having studied English as a Foreign Language (including the two with university studies, which is highly suspect), and four of them had just recently begun studying English in the United States.

The other Spanish language question, "It bothers me when people assume I speak Spanish," had three "yes" responses. A closer look at these individuals was merited. Two of the three were from Guanajuato, many residents of which are lighter skinned and may not appear as a "typical" Mexican to a United States citizen. Many of my previous students from Guanajuato have indicated that this is often the case. However, the third was from Vera Cruz, who are typically darker skinned. On one occasion a student from Vera Cruz indicated to me that he was frequently thought to be an African American, with people assuming that they spoke African American Vernacular English (Black English). All three of these participants rated themselves as beginning speakers of English and had anxiety levels ranging from 61 to 85, moderately to highly anxious,

perhaps, which makes it strange that they should be bothered by being assumed to be a Spanish speaker. None of the three, though, indicated that they experienced any stress from being confused for an American in the past three months. Apparently they are "bothered" but not to the extent of becoming upset or stressed.

Forty-eight (87%) of participants indicated some English competency pressure. Forty-nine (89%) experienced pressure toward acculturating in the sense of adopting American cultural norms. About half of the participants experienced pressure against acculturating.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG ITEMS

Correlations by Demographic Variables

Age

Some relationships were identified by demographic variables. Age was moderately and significantly ($p<.05$) negatively correlated with self-assessments in speaking ($r_s=-0.409$), understanding ($r_s=-0.290$), reading ($r_s=-0.358$), and writing ($r_s=-0.407$). This indicates that younger learners are more confident in their abilities, particularly in speaking and writing, than are their older counterparts. It is also interesting to note that the correlations are stronger for productive skills than receptive ones. This age difference phenomenon also shows up in the ELAS item "Even when I'm prepared to speak English, I get nervous." There was a moderate relationship between this item and age ($r_s=0.304$, $p<.05$,) meaning that older students were more likely to feel nervous than were younger students. Nevertheless it was the older students who were more likely to read an American newspaper ($r_s=-0.323$, $p<.05$) and know important

figures from United States history (r_s=-0.572, p<.05). Nonetheless, they were also more likely to have difficulty relating to Americans (r_s=.409, p<.05). Younger participants, on the other hand, were more likely to feel uncomfortable that their families did not know American ways of doing things (r_s=-0.387, p<.05) and be bothered when their Latino values were not respected (r_s=-0.338, p<.05). These results are summarized in Table 5 which follows.

Table 5: Significant Correlations with Age

As age increases…
self-efficacy in speaking decreases
self-efficacy in understanding decreases
self-efficacy in reading decreases
self-efficacy in writing decreases
feeling uncomfortable that the family does not know the US ways of doing things decreases
being bothered when Latino values are not respected decreases
reading American papers increases
knowing US historical figures increases
difficulty relating to Americans increases
nervousness even when prepared increases

Gender

Using the Mann-Whitney U test, no significant differences between the men and the women with regard to age, age of entry into the United States, length of residence in the United States, self-assessments, or in their overall scores in language anxiety, acculturation or acculturative stress were found; but, in general, the men were more educated than the women (Z=-2.239, p<.05).

Men were much more likely to be bothered by correction they did not understand than were women (m=32.48 vs. 21.76, Z=-2.632, p=.008). This difference might be

explained by examining one of the cultural norms of the Latino culture, and Mexico in particular, *machismo*. Although generally interpreted as the equivalent of what Americans call male chauvinism or sexism, according to Arciniega et al. (2008) this concept is actually two constructs: *machismo* and *caballerismo. Machismo,* which is often associated with negative stereotypes of male-domination (and associated displays such as drinking, cursing, and fighting), has not been found to have a strong correlation with the ethnic identity of Latinos. Alternatively, *caballerismo,* which includes the positive stereotypes of family protector, wise father, and provider, has been shown to be more associated with modern Latino identity. *Caballerismo* is similar to a "gentleman's code of conduct." The word itself comes from *caballo,* horse, which indicates the mode of transportation "gentleman" (*caballeros*) in previous centuries used. Latino men tend to distance themselves from the traditional machismo stereotype (Arciniega et al., 2008). Protecting this sense of identity may cause a Latino man to avoid situations in which he would be perceived as weak or in need, as these would undermine his sense of "manliness" (Heppner, 1981). Being corrected publicly would highlight an area of vulnerability and thus be uncomfortable at best.

Women felt slightly less pressure about learning English than did the men (m=25.00 vs.28.39, Z=-1.983, p=.047). This may have to do with workplace English. As already mentioned, the male role in the Latino family includes that of provider. In order to provide in the United States, English is not an absolute requirement. According to a review of a sample of 81,059 male Mexican immigrants from 1990 Census data, in the first years of life in the United States, men with low levels of education and experience

who do not speak English, or do not speak it well, actually earn slightly more money than men with the same level of education and experience who do speak English (Sandford, 2002). All things being equal, a man without a high school diploma and little or no experience who does not speak English will earn 4.1% more than a man with the same level of education and experience who speaks English very well. I suspect that this counterintuitive relationship may be due to the number of jobs held by immigrants who do not speak English. Census data indicate household income, not the number of hours worked or number of jobs held. But regardless of why the income difference initially favors those who do not speak English, the scales quickly tip in favor of speaking English as length of time in the United States increases. After 5 years, the English speaker will make 1.2% more than the non-English speaker, and after 10 years he will make 6.5% more. The gap is significantly greater for those who have more education. Initially, a high school graduate will earn 30.1% less if he does not speak English compared to one who does, and a college graduate will earn 71.5% less (Sandford, 2002).

The fact that men feel more pressure to learn English may indicate that they recognize that the longer they stay and work in the United States, the greater the economic cost of their not speaking English.

Length of Time in the United States

Length of Time in the United States (LOT) did not correlate with any of the self-assessments or with any of the scales as a whole, but it did significantly ($p<.05$) correlate several with acculturation items: regularly reading an American paper (.439), having American friends (.392), knowing how to cook American food (.352), feeling

comfortable in the United States (.353), and knowing important U.S. historical figures (.323). These findings seem logical, but what is surprising is that there were not *more* acculturation items that had significant correlations with LOT.

One significant correlation between LOT and acculturative stress required closer consideration: a moderate inverse correlation between LOT and being bothered by one's accent in English (-.447), meaning that the less time the individual had spent in the U.S., the more likely they were to be bothered by their accent. ESL students are therefore aware of their pronunciation difficulties very early, but what is interesting is that in this study they tend to be less concerned about their accent the longer they are in the U.S.

In the study by Derwing (2004) ninety-seven of the one hundred intermediate-level ESL students interviewed felt strongly that good pronunciation was very important. Ninety-five agreed strongly or very strongly that they would speak English like a native-speaker if possible. Forty-eight felt strongly or very strongly that they would be more respected by native speakers (Canadians) if they pronounced English well. This perception that respect is tied to pronunciation is also seen in the rise of accent-reduction training classes that have become popular over the past decade, especially among professionals for whom English is a subsequent language (Beckett, 2006; Chang, 2003; Gallagher, 2005; Hundley, 2007). Nonetheless, in this study, time seemed to desensitize speakers to their accents. The difference may be that the majority were overwhelmingly currently employed as unskilled laborers (52.7%). No one reported working in a professional field. As mentioned previously, English ability has no economic effect in

these kinds of jobs (Sandford, 2002). "Good enough" English is "good enough." There is no financial sanction for poor pronunciation.

The significant correlations for length of time in the United States are summarized in Table 6 which follows.

Table 6: Significant Correlations with Length of Time in the United States

As Length of Time Increases…
regular reading of American papers increases
having American friends increases
knowing how to cook American food increases
feeling comfortable in the United States increases
knowing important US historical figures increases
being bothered by accent in English decreases

Level of Education

Level of Education (LOE) had a significant ($p<.05$) relationship with all four self-assessments. The association with writing was the highest ($r_s=.509$), followed by speaking ($r_s=.480$). The receptive skills were also significantly related to LOE, but slightly less so. More educated participants had more confidence in their reading ($r_s=.408$) and listening comprehension ($r_s=.365$). I initially thought that this might be because of required English courses in high school and college, but LOE was *not* significantly related with the length of EFL study, ESL study, or the combination of the two. It seems that having more general education in their first language inclined

participants to have more self-confidence in the learning process independent of language education they may or may not have received.

Similarly, Level of Education had a small but significant relationship with language anxiety as a whole (r_s=-.292, p<.05). Less educated participants were more likely to be anxious than those who had more education. Moreover, physical response items had the highest correlation in this regard. "I feel that my heart is pounding when I have to answer in English" had the strongest correlation (r_s= -.337, p<.05) followed by "I tremble when I know I'm going to have to speak English" (r_s= -.327, p<.05). Besides the correlation with physical expressions of anxiety, LOE also had some relationship with being bothered by friends' correction (r_s= -.301, p<.05), fear of being laughed at by native speakers (r_s= -.320, p<.05), feeling panic when having to speak English without preparation (r_s= -.272, p<.05), and feeling like there are more rules than they learn (r_s= -.274, p<.05). One other correlation that was interesting with regard to level of education had to do with being irritated when Spanish speakers refuse to speak Spanish. Level of Education had an inverse with this anxiety marker (r_s= -.312, p<.05).

Length of Education did not correlate significantly with the acculturation scale overall, although it did have some moderate correlations with English use: thinks in English (r_s=.347, p<.05) and speaks in English with their partner (r_s= .308, p<.05). It also had a moderate relationship with acquiring an American palate (r_s= .346 p<.05). Conversely, LOE was negatively correlated with maintaining relationships with family in the home country (r_s= -.293, p<.05). LOE also did not correlate with acculturative stress overall, but it did correlate slightly with not being bothered when assumed to be a

Spanish speaker (r_s= .291 p<.05) and being aware of having been discriminated against because of their English (r_s= -.282 p<.05). These correlations are summarized in Table 7.

Table 7: Significant Correlations with Level of Education

As Level of Education Increases…
Self-efficacy in reading, writing, speaking and listening increase
Language anxiety decreases
Heart pounding when answering in English decreases
Trembling when having to speak English decreases
Being bothered by friends' correction decreases
Fear of being laughed at by native speakers decreases
Panic when having to speak English without preparation decreases
Feeling that there are more rules than they can learn decreases
Being irritated when Spanish speakers refuse to speak Spanish decreases
Maintaining relationships with family in home country decreases
Being bothered when assumed to be a Spanish speaker decreases
Being aware of having been discriminated against because of their English increases
Thinking in English increases
Speaking English with their partner increases
Enjoying American cuisine increases

The amount of English (EFL or ESL) studied had no significant relationship with acculturation or any of the individual items in the scale. It also did not have a relationship with acculturative stress, although the longer ESL was studied the more likely individuals were to become uncomfortable that their families did not know American ways of doing things (r_s=-.401, p<.05). However, that relationship disappears when controlling for length of time in the United States.

Language anxiety as a whole was significantly inversely related to the length of ESL study (r_s=-.423, p<.05), meaning the longer one studied English in the United States,

the less anxious the individual was likely to be. On the other hand, language anxiety had no relationship with EFL study.

Several individual anxiety items had moderate to fairly strong correlations with length of ESL and/or EFL study. For example, length of study of English in the target country was related to many items that dealt directly with conversations with native speakers. ESL study, but not EFL study, was related to less fear of being made fun of by native speakers (r_s=-.462, $p<.05$), to feeling like a different person when speaking English (r_s=-.483, $p<.05$), to being afraid of falling behind in a conversation in English (r_s=-.447, $p<.05$), to over-thinking prior to speaking (r_s=-.404, $p<.05$), feeling panic when having to speak without preparation (r_s=-.436, $p<.05$), or to feeling like people do not really know them when they speak English (r_s=-.499, $p<.05$). These relational issues decrease over time as English is studied in the ESL context, but they have no relationship with English studied in countries where English is a foreign language.

In addition, over time ESL has a slight advantage in reducing anxiety-induced forgetfulness (r_s=-.319, $p<.05$), feeling sure of oneself while speaking (r_s=-.356, $p<.05$), and trembling (r_s=-.300, $p<.05$). EFL did not have any relationship with these items, but it did have some relationship to ambiguity intolerance (r_s=-.314, $p<.05$), although still less so than ESL (r_s=-.484, $p<.05$), (not a statistically significant difference (Z=1.42, p=.07)). Length of EFL study, though, did have a slightly stronger correlation with anxiety caused by being overwhelmed by the number of grammar rules than did ESL study (r_s=-.464 and -.315 respectively, $p<.05$) (not a significant difference (Z=-1.24, p=.107)). These findings are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8: Language Anxiety and Length of Time Studying English as a Foreign or Second Language

		EFL	ESL	EFl+ESL
		n=51	n=54	n=54
Afraid of being laughed at by native speakers	r	p>.05	**-0.462**	**-0.507**
There're so many rules that feels they will never learn them all	r	**-0.464**	**-0.315**	**-0.346**
Feels like a different person when speaking English	r	p>.05	**-0.483**	**-0.381**
Feels so nervous that forgets things they already know	r	p>.05	**-0.319**	**-0.291**
Never sure of themselves when speaking English	r	p>.05	**-0.356**	**-0.270**
Friends speak so quickly that fears will fall behind b/c of English	r	**-0.277**	**-0.447**	**-0.368**
Afraid friend are ready to correct every error in English	r	p>.05	**-0.278**	**-0.354**
Tremble when they know they will have to speak English	r	p>.05	**-0.300**	**-0.269**
Thinks too much when they have to speak English to native speakers	r	p>.05	**-0.404**	**-0.319**
Feels nervous when doesn't understand all the words	r	**-0.314**	**-0.484**	**-0.442**
Feels panic when has to speak English without preparation	r	p>.05	**-0.436**	**-0.399**
Feels that people don't really know them when they speak English	r	p>.05	**-0.499**	**-0.399**

The amount of English studied had a relationship with all of the self-assessments, as seen in Table 9. In addition, English studied in the United States consistently had a stronger relationship with self-assessments than did English studied in the home country.

Table 9: EFL vs. ESL Study Correlations with Self-Assessments (n=51)

		EFL Study	ESL Study
Speaking Self Assessment	r_s	**0.401**	**0.571**
	P	*0.00*	*0.00*
Listening Self Assessment	r_s	**0.357**	**0.595**
	P	*0.01*	*0.00*
Writing Self Assessment	r_s	**0.452**	**0.582**
	P	*0.00*	*0.00*

Reading Self Assessment	r_s	**0.427**	**0.613**
	P	*0.00*	*0.00*

Moreover, using Fisher's method of comparing correlations, the Z scores for these differences were calculated and are reported in Table 10. Through this process, only the listening self-assessment was significant at the .05 level. The difference in the slopes of the regression lines for listening (.3448) was also significant (t(50)=-3.13). This implies that learning to understand English is undertaken better in the ESL context than in the EFL context.

Table 10: Comparison of Correlations for Length of Study of EFL/ESL and Self-Assessments

	r_s=EFL	r_s=ESL	EFL -Fishers	ESL=Fishers	Z	*p*
READING	0.427	0.613	0.456	0.713	1.29	.09
WRITING	0.452	0.582	0.487	0.665	0.89	.18
LISTENING	0.357	0.595	0.373	0.685	**1.56**	**.05**
SPEAKING	0.401	0.571	0.424	0.649	1.12	.13

I was also curious if the length of time in the United States had any effect on these correlations so I calculated the partial correlation, controlling for length of time in the United States, as seen in Table 11. Applying this control did weaken the strength of the correlations and *p* values, especially with regard to EFL study and reading or speaking, but the relationships are still apparent even when length of residence is removed.

Table 11: Partial Correlations for EFL/ESL Study and Self-Assessments Controlling for LOT in the U.S.

		EFL	ESL
Speaking	r_s	0.284	0.411
	p	0.06	0.01
Listening	r_s	0.299	0.611

	p	0.05	0.00
Writing	r_s	0.331	0.394
	p	0.03	0.01
Reading	r_s	0.277	0.508
	p	0.07	0.00

Self-Assessments

In addition to the relationships already mentioned, the sum of the self-assessments had a fairly strong inverse relationship with language anxiety as a whole (r_s=-.564, *p*<.*05*). The relationship with the self-assessments of each skill can be found in Table 12. The strongest relationships are in the productive skills, speaking and writing. As the student becomes more confident in these two skills, the level of language anxiety tends to decrease even more so than confidence in reading and listening. These difference, however, are not statistically significant (Z=-.545, p>.05 for speaking and listening; Z=-1.00, p>.05 for writing and reading).

Table 12: Correlations for Self-Assessments and Language Anxiety

		Anxiety
Speaking	r_s	-0.561
	p	0.00
Listening	r_s	-0.505
	p	0.00
Writing	r_s	-0.615
	p	0.00
Reading	r_s	-0.519
	p	0.07

Self assessments, individually or in sum, did not have a significant correlation with the acculturation scale as a whole, but there were some small relationships between individual skills and items. For example, people who spoke Spanish with a partner (a negatively coded item) were less likely to rate themselves well on all four skills, speaking, listening, writing and reading (r_s=.291, .280, .318 and .329 respectively). A similar relationship was also found between thinking in Spanish (also negatively coded) and speaking, listening, writing and reading (r_s=.274, .285, .362 and .343 respectively). In looking at those who speak English at home, the relationship with the level of speaking and reading self-assessment is roughly opposite to those who speak Spanish at home (negatively coded). r_s=.287 and .344 respectively. Writing had no relationship with speaking English at home. The only easily seen difference is in understanding. The relationship with the understanding English self-assessment and speaking English at home was .321, but the difference, while more obvious, was not statistically significant (Z=-.305, p>.05). Understanding, but not speaking, had a positive relationship with being comfortable speaking English (r_s=.269, p>.05) and being comfortable with Americans (r_s=.311, p>.05).

Self-assessments did not have a significant relationship with acculturative stress either as a group or individually with regard to stress toward or against acculturation or in general. In fact, the only items that had any relationship with self-assessments from the stress scale were feeling uncomfortable that the family does not know American ways of doing things (r_s-.289 with speaking, -.272 with listening, -.335 with writing, and -.300 with reading; p<.05) and having had conflicts because of a preference for Latino ways of

doing things (r_s=.299 with speaking and .300 with understanding). I thought perhaps feeling uncomfortable about not knowing American ways was a function of length of time in the U.S., but the correlations and significance change minimally when controlling for LOT.

Correlations between scale items

A closer look at the correlations of individual items in the scales was also conducted. A few of these relationships merit mention. For example, the language anxiety items "I enjoy speaking English" and "I feel fully confident speaking English" correlate rather well with the overall acculturation scale (r_s=.588, and .666 respectively, p>.05). There was also a slightly less strong correlation between the acculturation scale and not worrying about errors (r_s=.456, p>.05). These results would seem to imply that reaching the point of enjoying English and being confident in its use is associated with becoming integrated or assimilated to American culture. Conversely, there was an inverse relationship between the items on the acculturation scale referring to the use of Spanish and language anxiety as a whole. Thinking in Spanish (r_s=-.415, p<.05) and speaking Spanish with friends (r_s=-.377, p<.05) indicated low acculturation and a tendency toward increased language anxiety.

Thinking in Spanish also correlated with being nervous even when prepared (r_s=-.481, p<.05) and thinking everyone speaks English better (r_s=-.447, p<.05). The less likely one thinks in Spanish, the more likely he or she will indicate higher anxiety on these items. Further, thinking in Spanish correlated with feeling nervous and confused when speaking English (r_s=-.448, p<.05). Thinking in Spanish was also related to being

unable to express one's true feelings (r_s=-.343, p<.05), nervous forgetfulness (r_s=-.369, p<.05), being insecure in English (r_s=-.405, p<.05), and feeling that people don't really know them when they speak English (r_s=-.322, p<.05).

Thinking in English, on the other hand, decreased the likelihood that the participant would be bothered by friends' correction (r_s=-.454, p<.05), but increased the likelihood that the participant enjoyed English (r_s=.625, p<.05) and was fully confident in English (r_s=.379, p<.05). Moreover, thinking in English was negatively correlated with being bothered by the assumption that the participant speaks Spanish (r_s=-.321, p<.05). It seems from these relationships that the language of thought may have an impact on affect with regard to the language of use.

Enjoying English, for example, was strongly associated with being comfortable in English (r_s=.798, p<.05), having American friends (r_s=.572, p<.05), reading American newspapers (r_s=.607, p<.05), speaking English at home (r_s=.618, p<.05), and feeling comfortable in the United States (r_s=.548, p<.05). It also had a moderate relationship with the tendency to feel accepted by Americans (r_s=.492, p<.05) and attend social functions with them (r_s=.485, p<.05). It also had a moderate relationship with knowing how to prepare American food (r_s=.411, p<.05) and an inverse relationship with being bothered when assumed to be a Spanish-speaker (r_s=-.346, p<.05).

Similarly, feeling fully confident in English had strong correlations with being comfortable speaking English (r_s=.691, p<.05), speaking English with a partner (r_s=.572, p<.05), having American friends (r_s=.552, p<.05), preparing American food (r_s=.544, p<.05), reading American newspapers (r_s=.537, p<.05), speaking English at home

(r_s=.695, p<.05), and generally feeling comfortable with Americans (r_s=.512, p<.05) and attending social functions with them (r_s=.461, p<.05). Furthermore, not worrying about errors is associated with feeling comfortable in the United States (r_s=.534, p<.05).

These results, summarized in Table 13, imply that both affect and self-efficacy have a bearing on target language use.

Table 13: Correlations with Language Preference

Spanish preference	English preference
• Lower acculturation score • Higher language anxiety score • Nervous even when prepared to speak English • Thinks everyone speaks English better • Nervous and confused when speaking • Unable to express true feelings • Nervous forgetfulness • Insecure in English • Feeling that people don't know the real them	• Higher acculturation score • Less bothered by friend's correction • Enjoy English • Feeling fully confident in English • Less likely to be bothered when assumed a Spanish speaker • Being comfortable in English • Having American friends • Reading American newspapers • Speaking English at home or with a partner • Feeling comfortable in the U.S. • Feeling accepted by Americans • Attending social functions with Americans • Not bothered when assumed to be a Spanish speaker • Preparing American food

HYPOTHESIS TESTING

Initial hypotheses

With regard to the quantitative data, I expected certain correlations to be strongly evident. My principal hypothesis was that there would be strong correlations

among the three scales, language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress. I had the following specific hypotheses for these data:

H(i): A positive relationship exists between language anxiety and acculturative stress. Language anxiety and acculturative stress would overlap in the experiences of adult immigrants.

H(ii): An inverse relationship exists between language anxiety and acculturation. The more acculturated to U.S. culture, the less language anxiety the individual would report.

H(iii): An inverse relationship also exists between acculturation and acculturative stress. The more acculturated to U.S. culture, the less acculturative stress the participant would report.

Hypotheses Testing

Spearman's rho was selected for measuring correlations, as it is a non-parametric test, the sample was not random, and the measures were not interval, but of a Likert-rank type.

With regard to the first hypothesis, that there would be a strong positive correlation between language anxiety and acculturative stress, the results were negative. The correlation was near zero (.023) and not statistically significant. Figure 11 shows a nearly horizontal regression line, indicating that a predictive relationship does not exist between these two constructs. Moreover, none of the four subsets of the acculturative stress inventory (Spanish or English Competency, Toward or Against Acculturation) showed any relationship with language anxiety either.

With regard to a strong negative relationship existing between language anxiety and acculturation in general, this was also rejected. The correlation was also near zero (-0.036) and also not significant. There was no relationship found in this study between these two scales, as is evidenced in Figure 12.

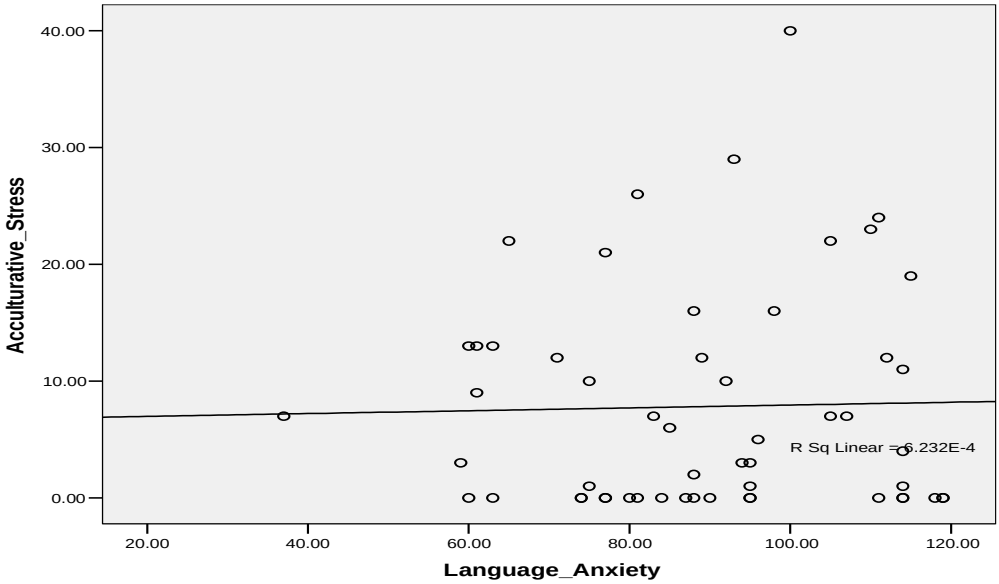


Figure 11: Scatterplot of Language Anxiety and Acculturative Stress

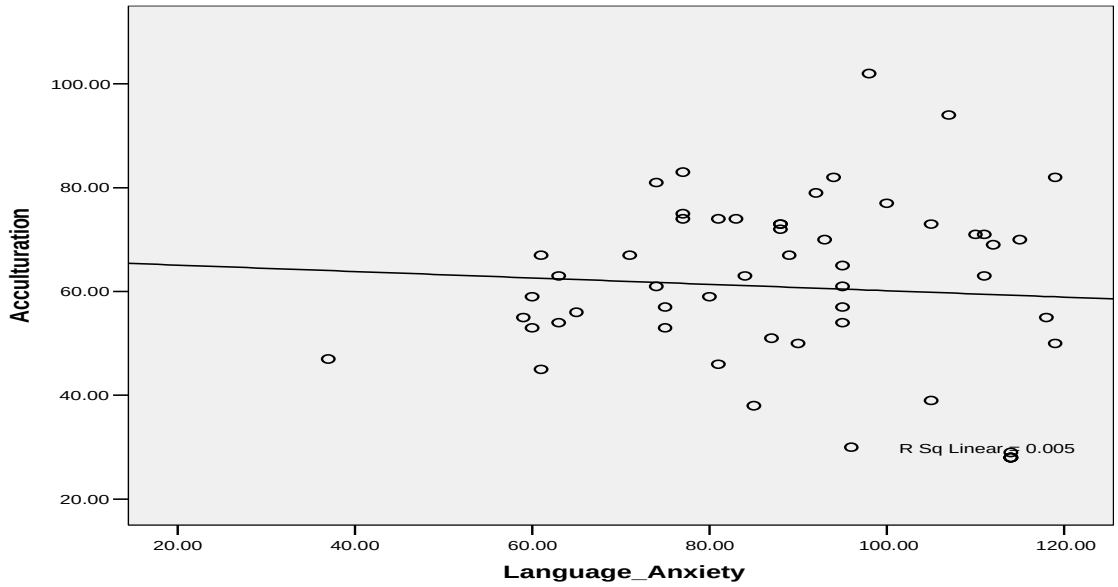


Figure 12: Scatterplot of Language Anxiety and Acculturation

Further, and perhaps most surprising, there was no relationship found between acculturation and acculturative stress, which can be seen in Figure 13. The relationship of acculturation to acculturative stress was not significant either to acculturative stress as whole (r_s=.202, p=.202), or to any of the subsets (Spanish Competency, English Competency, Toward or Against Acculturation). Transforming the acculturative stress data by using a Log10 function, as the data were slightly skewed to the right, did not much improve the relationship (r_s=.315, p=.065).

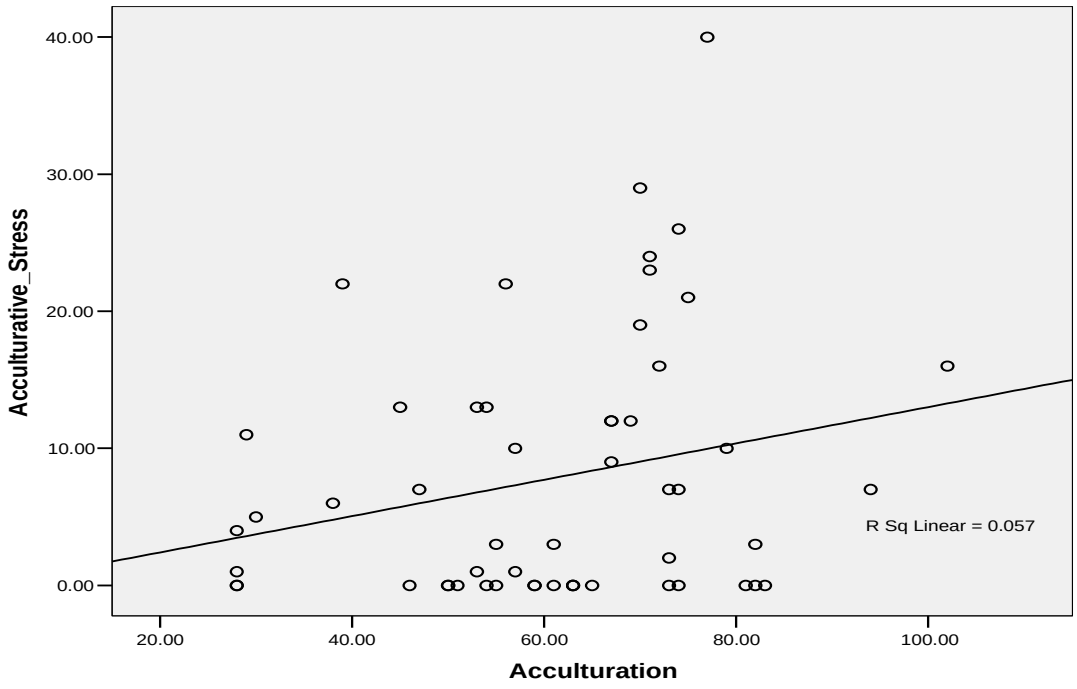


Figure 13: Scatterplot of Acculturation and Acculturative Stress

Therefore, the hypotheses were all rejected. The secondary questions, if there was an overarching construct that included language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stress was difficult to investigate due to the limited number of cases. There were insufficient data points for more elegant statistical modeling. However, knowing that Cronbach's alpha gives an interpretation of how likely the items are measuring an underlying construct, I calculated Cronbach's alpha for all items, treating them as if they were one scale. Interestingly enough, for all 77 items, the reliability was quite high, (Cronbach's alpha=.878) indicating some consistency throughout the items in measuring a single construct which I will refer to as language acculturation anxiety and discuss further in Chapter Five.

QUALITATIVE DATA

Interviewer-Participant Relationship

It is important for the reader of this investigation to know that the participants in the interviews were all students of mine, some for many years and some for a few months. All of them were advised that they were absolutely under no obligation to participate in the interview and that it would have no bearing on my treatment of them or on their studies at the organization where I teach. They were also told that they were free to refuse to answer any question, or to leave the interview at any time. Nonetheless, the existing relationship may have impacted their responses (either helping or hindering their freedom of expression.)

Participants were also allowed to choose the language(s) used during the interview. The intermediate and advanced speakers chose to use English as the main language for the interview. This decision may have been influenced by my being their teacher, but these three individuals do in fact use English daily in their jobs as well. During the course of the interview, if I thought they were having difficulty expressing themselves, I would remind them that they could switch to Spanish. Likewise, if they asked me to repeat a question they did not understand, and I believed the reason was not the question but the language, I would ask if they wanted me to repeat the question in English or Spanish and repeat the question according to their preference.

Obviously, the beginning students had not studied with me as long as the intermediate and advanced students. Their interviews were considerably shorter, and I believe this may have been a function of their being less comfortable with sharing their

feelings about immigration and language learning with me. In fact, while not doing a technical linguistic analysis of these interviews, I did note that one participant in particular (the young man from Mexico with a junior high education) generally answered questions using third person ("uno") or impersonal ("se") forms. At the time of the interview, it occurred to me that he may not have been comfortable answering direct questions about his experiences and feelings regarding his immigration experience or use of language and I consequently did not ask as many follow up questions as I normally would do.

Interview participants included three beginning level students, two intermediate and one advanced with differing lengths of time in the United States and in studying English. These data are summarized in Table 14. The names have been changed to protect the participants' confidentiality.

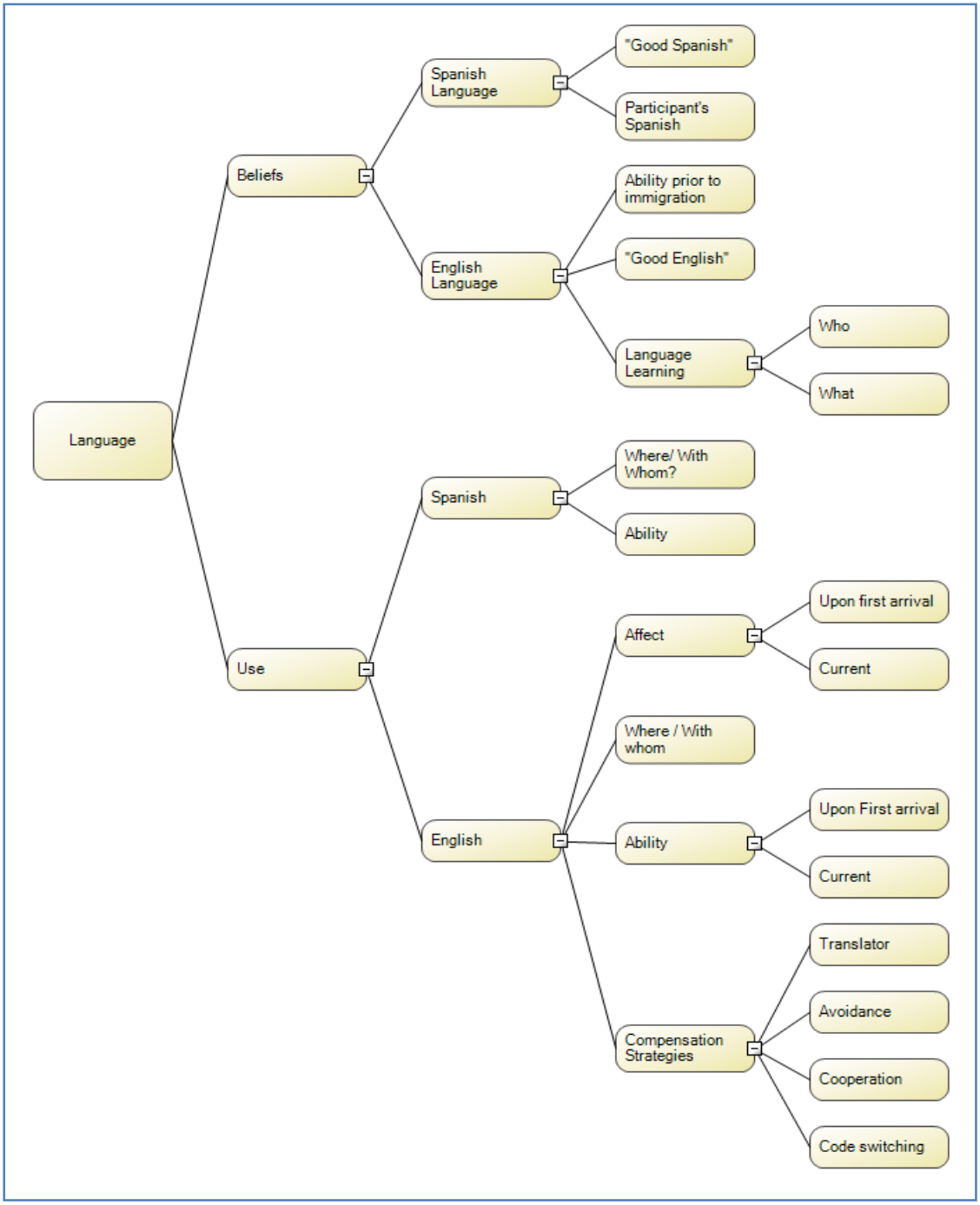
Table 14: Interview Participants

Code Name	Age	Male/ Female	Education	English Level	EFL studied	ESL studied	LOT U.S.	Country
Alex	23	Male	Jr. High	H. Beginning	3 yrs	6 mos.	6 yrs.	Mexico
Barbara	29	Female	Jr. High	L. Beginning	None	4 mos.	2 yrs.	Mexico
Charles	32	Male	College	Intermediate	4 yrs	2 yrs.	3 yrs	Mexico
Dana	26	Female	Primary	Intermediate	None	5 yrs	6 yrs.	Mexico

Code Name	Age	Male/ Female	Education	English Level	EFL studied	ESL studied	LOT U.S.	Country
Elena	18	Female	High School	L. Beginning	6 yrs	2 mos.	4 mos.	Mexico
Frank	31	Male	College	Advanced	6 yrs	2 yrs	7 yrs.	Peru

Analysis

The analysis framework that was developed while analyzing these data concerning language is shown in Figure 14. The data were segmented and then classified and reclassified into categories until further classification seemed to produce no new understanding of the phenomenon of language acculturation Initial headings arose from the interview questions and were expanded when responses did not fit well under the interview question. The framework was then reduced as much as possible by collapsing headings that could potentially contain the same data. Finally, the data were then reanalyzed using the finalized framework to ensure that the frame was appropriate (Gall, Borg, and Gall, 1996).



One of Figure 14: Language Theme Analysis Map

The first questions were asked to determine what the participant understood about language in general with regard to linguistic registers and also to gage how they

perceived their communicative competence in Spanish. With regard to Spanish, “good” Spanish, in the opinion of the participants, was spoken by professionals, university graduates, or “anyone from Spain” (or Colombia, according to the Peruvian informant, Frank). Spanish that employed “groserías” (curse words) was relegated to street Spanish, which none of the participants admitted to speaking. They felt that they could tell a person’s upbringing and education level by their Spanish usage, but Frank added that even though he had this “perception” he really didn’t “care too much.”

All of the participants said that they spoke just “average” Spanish. Elena, a high school graduate female in her late teens, described her Spanish as follows:

> "No es perfecto. Pero tampoco es malo. Pero me da cuenta que el español no es realmente lo que se debe hablar porque de donde soy yo....cortamos las palabras porque así son los veracruzanos como que cortan las palabras. Entonces en realidad nunca se tiene que hablar así pero tiene que hablar toda la frase completa y es muy complicado también el español."
> *(It [my Spanish] isn’t perfect, but it isn’t bad either. But I realize that Spanish is not really what you should speak, because where I’m from, we cut the words short because that’s how Vera Cruz people are – they cut off their words. So really you never have to talk like that, but you have to speak in complete sentences. And Spanish is also very complicated.)*

This comment illustrated that this young lady already has a fairly sophisticated concept of language with regard to register. Also, her opinion of her English is very

high, even though she is taking low beginning classes and for the most part is unable to communicate in English. Her final test for the beginning level was less than 70%. Her explanation for this disparity is that the English they teach in Mexico is "muy diferente, muy avanzado" (*very different, very advanced*) compared to the English taught in the U.S.

Nonetheless on her first visit across the border she recognized that what she had learned was insufficient for verbal communication. Her idea of "advanced English" had to do mainly with learning of grammar rules and vocabulary and not with communication skills.

Frank, who had studied English in private courses and in college, also thought that his English was very good prior to coming to the United States. "I was thinking it was good, but when I got here I realized it was slow and low level." Another participant, Alex, who studied English three years in the junior high, at first claimed to have never studied English at all, which is one of the reasons to view the statistics regarding EFL study in this investigation cautiously. When pressed, he admitted that he had studied English, but agreed with Elena that what they teach in Mexico is very different. His account, however, was that students studying English in Mexico were only taught words like "mesa, puerta…son las cosas más básicas que enseñan, más fáciles para poder aprenderlas" (*table, door…they teach the most basic things, the easiest, so that they can be learned.*). The difference between one's experience as an EFL student and the realization that the English necessary for communication is quite different may be a

factor in ESL study having a stronger relationship with sell-assessments and language anxiety than EFL in this investigation.

Just as the respondents felt that "good Spanish" was spoken by all Spaniards, they had a tendency to say that "good English" was spoken by any native speaker, from any country (for example, the United States, England, Australia, and even South Africa). The only requirement for speaking "good English" was being born in an English-speaking country. This question immediately followed the question about "good Spanish," but even after telling me that "good Spanish" was spoken by professionals and educated individuals (as well as Spaniards), it did not occur to any of the participants that this would be the same in an English-speaking country, although when discussing her beliefs about who learns English easier later in the interview, Elena did mention that there may be some variety in the kinds of English learned by different people.

In addition to saying that people who read more speak better because they know how to use the words properly in conversation, Elena said that men, in general, learn English better because they simply have more "ease of communication." She was using her father as an example, who has lived in the United States for 18 years and, to her knowledge, has never studied English. Considering that she felt she had learned advanced English in Mexico and still had difficulty communicating while her dad speaks "fluently" with his boss, it is not a surprising conclusion on her part. She did, however point out that her father spoke "inglés callejero" (street English) and wasn't sure if he actually pronounced or used the words correctly. Therefore, despite the fact that she did

not point to the concept of “street” versus “standard” English earlier, she was aware of the difference.

Another language belief that surfaced is that vocabulary is the root of language learning. “Charles,” who is a college graduate from Mexico, stated that he gets better with every word that he learns and speaks. When I asked if it were only the words that made him feel as though he were getting better, he quickly added grammar as well. Nonetheless, from being his teacher I know that this particular English learner has a propensity to study vocabulary, and especially pronunciation of new vocabulary, with much more fervor than he does grammar. I must confess that all of my students have heard me say at one time or another, “You can talk without perfect grammar, but you cannot talk without words.” I use this to encourage them to study their vocabulary, as I found in this self-directed program that vocabulary study per se was often neglected. The sheer number and different kinds of exercises required in their programs of study should offset any misconception that I feel vocabulary is the only, or main, element to learning English. Yet, when he made this comment, I wondered if I had misguided him in this area.

Another participant, Dana, believes that English is simply a more difficult language to learn than Spanish. This young lady was pulled from school in her primary school years to help with the family ranch, so her education in her first language was cut short. She is now studying for her GED in English after 5 years of on-again, off-again English study. Her argument for the difficulty of English over Spanish is based on two main differences: the vowel system (Spanish has fewer phonemic vowels than English)

and the orthographic system (Spanish spelling has a more one-to-one sound to symbol relationship than English). It is a valid argument, but neglects any consideration of other differences, such as in the verb systems (English is verb-poor, Spanish fairly verb-rich), grammatical gender, or the difficulty of a variable word-order (synthetic) language such as Spanish compared to an analytic language such as English. This illustrates, then, that for her, language learning is also primarily based on the word unit, pronouncing and understanding it correctly as well as writing and decoding it correctly.

One of the most interesting theories about language learning came from Frank, the Peruvian. He states that language learning is "in the genes."

> "I met some people who doesn't here…no have education but they are good English speakers, speaker English and they are good students too...Something in the blood, the genes, *los genes*. Sometimes the education, sometimes the genes."

It is not uncommon for people to believe that innate language ability is required to learn a second language. Horwitz (1988) reported that from forty-six to fifty-two percent of respondents on the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory agreed that some people are born with a natural ability to learn languages.

Two participants said that those who learn English well are those who purpose to do so, who have come to a point that they recognize that they need English for some reason, whether it be for work, or a citizenship test, or simply not to be taken advantage of. Charles, the Mexican college graduate, had this to say: "Es más fácil aprender por convicción que por miedo." (*It is easier to learn for conviction than fear.)* He said also that people make a lot of excuses, such as their age, or their work or family

commitments, but when they come to the point when they believe English will help them improve their lives, "…no es tan difícil. Ya lo haces con mas *willingness*." (*It's not so difficult. You go ahead and do it with more* willingness.)

The importance of learning English was a recurring theme. Alex said his first few years in the United States he did not realize that he needed English because he was working two jobs and all he could think about was working and sending money home. When he finally realized that he needed English in order to improve his living situation, he started classes, several years after living in the United States. Barbara said that those who come to the United States have the "deber" or obligation to learn English. Frank said that he would advise new students "deberían todos aprender inglés porque estamos en los Estados Unidos" (*you should all learn English because we are in the United States.*) Much of this seemed to be in response to the idea that Americans were thinking "what are you doing here if you don't speak our language," as Alex put it. Barbara was a little more gracious, saying that the English-speaking person with whom she was talking was in the same situation as she, trying to find a way to communicate across the language barrier, but that the responsibility for doing so was on her. "Uno no puede venir a cambiar las reglas, mucho menos el idioma." (*You can't come and change the rules, much less the language.)*

Alex said he had the worst difficulty talking to people who speak both Spanish and English. His main complaint was that they might perhaps use "Spanish" words he did not know (which Charles referred to as "Mexican-American Tex-Mex") or failed to pronounce Spanish words correctly. On the other hand, Elena said people who look

Mexican but refuse to speak Spanish bothered her the most. "Saben que no todos sabemos el inglés perfecto, entonces es como ellos te quieren hacerse menos que ellos. Eso le molesta demasiado." (*They know we don't all speak perfect English so it's like they want to make us lower than themselves. That bothers you a whole lot.*)

Most of the participants said that they felt "bad," "sad," and/or "scared" when they had to speak English after recently arriving in the United States. In some cases this led to self-imposed isolation. Barbara, the twenty-nine year old woman with a high school education, said that she was so afraid of being laughed at that she would not ask for help in either Spanish or in English. She would go into a store and look for something four times and hope that eventually she would come across what she needed.

Dana, who is now studying for her G.E.D. , talked about how when she was first learning English she was given a traffic citation that she knew was unwarranted, but there was no way for her express herself to the police officer, who professed to not know Spanish. "But that time I was very angry because I wanted to say something to the police but I couldn't say. I didn't know how to say it in English." She went on to fight the ticket in court with the help of an English-speaking relative and had the ticket dismissed.

Frank described his first experiences like "a little war in English." He said he wasn't angry; he knew that his English would improve and that the inconvenience of being frequently misunderstood would pass, but he was frustrated, especially when he was almost fired for his lack of English shortly after he first immigrated to the U.S.

Current experiences in the United States were much more positive. In general, the beginning English speakers said that they were still uncomfortable speaking English, but they had less fear. Alex, for example, who speaks English regularly at work, says that he now speaks with more confidence because he uses the rules he is learning in class and has some idea how to put together a sentence, whereas before he had no idea how to even begin. Barbara said she feels very happy, because before she couldn't even go shopping. Language was like a block placed in the path before her. But now she can go and ask questions and understand what the cashier and other people are saying to her. She went on to say that now she feels that English is difficult, but not impossible. By contrast, Elena, the youngest and most recent come of the immigrants, said that she still feels like a different person in English. She said she is more "cohibida," or reserved, when she speaks in English. (*Cohibida* could also be interpreted as embarrassed, but in the conversation, the sense was that she was not as outgoing here in the United States as she was in Mexico.) She said the reason for her feelings is that she is unsure when she speaks if (1) the people are going to understand her or (2) if they are going to laugh at her. She has also subsequently stopped studying English and taken a job in which she does not have to speak English.

The intermediate and advanced learners all said that they were perfectly comfortable now in English, but that notwithstanding they were aware of their shortcomings in English. The recent experiences they related regarding their English use were all positive. Charles, for example, said that he went to fill out an application in a restaurant and spoke with the manager for twenty minutes in English. What was odd

about the conversation to me, however, was that the manager asked Charles if he could speak English after talking with him for twenty minutes *in English*. Charles responded that he felt he spoke "well enough for this job." In his current job he encourages his bilingual coworkers and supervisors to talk to him in English because he "enjoys it." He also related that he socializes with Americans, and although he may speak more slowly and use simple words, he speaks English more often now. On the other hand, Charles said he still finds it difficult to talk to teachers (to me, specifically[12]), managers, and basically anyone in authority. He, in fact, switched to Spanish "para ser más preciso" (to be more precise). He is concerned that his English is not good enough to have a conversation with people who have a higher level of education, even though most of his friends are American professionals. Because of this distinction, I suspect that his situational anxiety has more to do with authority figures than education level.

Frank's response was very interesting. He said that since his coworkers are mainly Americans with a high school education, young people who use a lot of slang, they sometimes ask him what an English word means or how to spell something in English. He finds this very amusing, as English is their native language and they are asking him, a native Spanish-speaker, for help. He seems to really enjoy this situation.

Frank also stated that he felt his Spanish had deteriorated over his time in the United States (seven years) as a result of not talking to people who spoke educated Spanish (apart from his teachers, he was quick to add). While he, in his own words, doesn't discriminate against anyone on the basis of their Spanish, he recognizes that the

[12] I find it ironic that he reports finding it difficult to speak to me, but spends most of his session doing just that. Additionally, his interview was the longest of all the participants. I had to ask very few questions for him to begin sharing his views and opinions about immigration and language learning.

type of Spanish he normally uses here differs from what he was using as a university student studying engineering in Peru. He elected to do his interview in English, and only switched to Spanish only at the end when he felt unsure that I understood his meaning. This sense of language loss may be related to the findings regarding confidence in English correlating with acculturative outcomes.

Several compensation strategies for communication problems surfaced during the interviews. One was avoidance, particularly for the beginners. As mentioned previously, Barbara would simply not engage with anyone, Spanish or English speaking, so as to avoid the potential discomfort of being addressed in English. Elena also said that she tried not to go places where she knew there would be no Spanish speakers. Alex took jobs where he would not have to speak any English. People who feel they are not accepted by Americans are also likely to feel that Americans do not get to know the real them when they speak (r_s=0.561, $p<.05$) or to have had conflicts because they prefer Mexican traditions over American ones (r_s=0.398, $p<.05$), but these feelings are not significantly related to language anxiety or feeling that their English is inadequate, either as a whole or in any of the four skills. They are more likely to feel bothered by correction, however (r_s=-0.294, $p<.05$). In order not to be corrected or to engage in conflicts, it is reasonable that these individuals would choose an avoidance position toward English.

The second strategy was using a third party to interpret. Barbara gave the example of needing a repair to her apartment. She said that when she was unable to communicate the problem to maintenance, she elicited the help of a bilingual neighbor.

Charles also used this strategy, especially at work since many of his coworkers are bilingual. Dana, as well, in the situation with the traffic citation, employed an English speaking relative to help her in court.

A third strategy was cooperation. Two of the beginning students said that they often go out with another beginning student, and that between the two of them, they can make themselves understood. Confidence was higher as a member of the group than as an individual. Even when they could not communicate verbally, in the group they would use "mímicas" to communicate if necessary, but they would not employ miming if they were alone. There was some element of enjoyment in cooperatively acting out what could not be said between the two individuals' English repertoires.

A fourth strategy, one I've heard and been victim to many times, is by far the most dangerous. It is simply to say "yes" to whatever is being said. I call this the "smile and nod" response. Charles is the one who brought this strategy up. He said that when he first came to the United States and was working in a restaurant, no matter what anyone said, his answer was "yes." He clarified that "…the whole answer is: 'Yes, I can't understand you anything.'" He also indicated that this also caused him a lot of trouble early on when the answer was inappropriate. People would sometimes respond with "Yes?!" which let him know that his answer was not acceptable. He said he did this "to take to maybe my fear" which I understand to mean that it was something of a knee-jerk reaction. A quick Google ™ search of "smile and nod" and "foreign language" will show that this is not limited to English learners, or that comic results or limited to bussers in

restaurants (for example, Travis learning (tcthompson.blogspot.com/2007/10/smile-and-nod.html or www.seattlewomanmagazine.com/nov07-4.htm).

The last strategy that surfaced was codeswitching between Spanish and English. Although some might argue that this is interlanguage, or a language system "between" Spanish and English, these participants are making decisions about the choice of language that showing sufficient control to merit consideration as emerging bilingualism and not interlanguage (Montrul, 2002). It seems the use of codeswitching starts very early in the second language acquisition process. For example, when Barbara, who has been studying English for four months, said at the end of her interview, "Sí, hablo poco English." Her choice of using the English word "English" seemed to be used to emphasize the fact that she was learning the language. This choice is particularly interesting not only because she is a low beginner, but because she is a student who attempts to use English as much as possible in class. She also said that now that she is studying English she will sometimes say "tres en inglés y dos en español" (three [words] in English and two in Spanish). If the person does not speak Spanish, or just speaks a little, that is fine. She'll get the message across through one language or the other. Likewise, Alex said that he answers clients or coworkers "en español si hablan, pero si no igual lo hago en inglés" (*in Spanish if they speak it, but if not, I do it in English just the same)*. Elena was the only one of the participants that neither used nor referred to deliberate language choice.

The intermediate and advanced participants all initially elected to use English for these conversations, but all eventually used a little Spanish. When given the choice to be

asked a question in Spanish, most preferred to be asked in English, but with different words or more slowly. Nevertheless, when advised that they could repeat their answer in Spanish, if it appeared they were struggling, they uniformly chose Spanish. It seemed that they felt confident in their ability to understand what I was saying, but less confident that they could express exactly what they wanted to say in English. Charles used the word "willingness" in the middle of a Spanish response and at the end "para ser más preciso." Frank switched to Spanish at the end of his interview when he wanted to be more specific and to ensure that I got the full meaning of what he was saying. In a slightly different predicament Dana at one point experienced a full language block. After a long pause in which she was clearly trying to formulate a response, I reminded her she could tell me in Spanish if she couldn't think of how to say it in English, to which she started, "Como mas…I'm thinking." There was another long pause and she laughed. "I don't know how to say it in English or Spanish." Eventually she ended up telling me her response (that she had more confidence) in both English and Spanish.

With regard to immigration, four of the six participants came because of economic necessity. Two (Dana and Elena) came because their parents were already here in the United States. Most had very different ideas about how their lives would be in the U.S. For example, Alex did not think that he would have to look for a job. In fact, he didn't seem to think too much about how he was going to make a living here at all. He Like many young people, he had not thought about the details of living on one's own, apart from parental support, so he had to confront acculturation adjustments and transition to adult responsibilities simultaneously.

Dana, likewise, said she simply "didn't imagine" her life in the United States. She only thought "outside of the buildings there was a green grass and beautiful." Her first days here were marked with extreme homesickness. "I walk outside and I don't see anybody and I felt sad because I didn't know anybody." She was upset because she couldn't find a radio station in Spanish on the radio. I asked incredulously, "In Austin?!" (There are at least 4 FM and 5 AM stations in Spanish in Austin, as well as 3 over-air Spanish television channels). She said, "No, because I didn't know, but then my brother told me." She said she felt "weird" and often near tears, as though her family weren't even here. When she had to speak English she felt scared and "less than the other people." It has been six years, and she says she now feels "more comfortable" in the United States.

Elena, who also came because of her family, simply assumed that everything would be essentially the same as it was in Mexico, "el mismo ambiente" (the same environment). To her dismay, she said that she soon found that everything was different, "en todas las extensiones de la palabra" (*in every sense of the word)*: the language, the food, the people, the way one carries oneself. At the time of this study, Elena was in my professional opinion still experiencing the worst of culture shock. She was having a difficult time adjusting to all the changes that she had not anticipated.

Barbara, on the other hand, had looked forward to coming to the United States. She had recognized from her childhood that people in her town who had family in the United States sending them money lived better than those who did not. In fact, she wondered why *her* father or older brothers did not move to the United States as well.

She said she knew that her father living in the U.S. would not solve all of their problems, but at least the family would be financially more solvent. She had the idea that everyone who worked in the United States made a lot of money and lived well. She smilingly recounted how when she first came to the U.S. she would nag her husband to go out with her after he had worked all day. One day, her husband asked her to accompany him on the job. After painting the interior walls of new apartments without air-conditioning all day with one break, she had "more respect" for the money her husband was bringing home. In fact, she came to be bothered by "el no cuidar" (*the lack of caring*) that family members showed in spending the money sent to them, be it a little or a lot, because they obviously do not know "que se batalla aquí para obtener ese dinero" *(that you struggle here to get that money).*

Frank didn't elaborate on how he felt life was going to be once he got here, except to say that it would be "a little bit different." He, too, quickly found that everything was different, "the weather, the culture, the food, system, but I tried." For him the weather was the most difficult. "I'm a very coldy guy. I don't like the winter." Since he has been in Florida or Austin since moving from Peru, I found this comment rather odd. Regardless, after seven years, Frank asserts that he "likes it here."

Charles, on the other hand, said he knew in advance life was going to be hard here. He said before he had made the decision to come, he had talked to a lot of people who had come here for a season and then returned to Mexico. They told him of the problems they had faced while they were in the U.S. "And that's true. It was true." Despite these grim forebodings, because of his financial situation he felt he had no option

but to come to work so that he could pay off his debts. He said the worst part for him was feeling that he was, in fact, an immigrant. Although he chose to do most of his interview in English, these comments he made in Spanish. "Yo creo que lo más difícil de inmigrante es solo estar en pensando en eso…que eres un inmigrante. Que esto no es mi país, no es mi idioma, no es nada mío." (*I believe that the most difficult thing about being an immigrant is just thinking about that…that you are an immigrant. That this is not my country. It's not my language. None of it is mine.)* Charles said that once you get rid of this idea and decide that "aquí me voy a quedar; aquí me voy a casar; aquí voy a aprender este idioma, descargas mucha presión" (*here I'm going to stay; here I'm going to get married; Here I'm going to learn this language, you release a lot of pressure).*

Language was clearly an immigration issue for all of the participants. Barbara said that the language was the most difficult problem she faced as a newcomer to the United States. "Más que la religión. Más que la comida o la rutina…Yo sé que sí es el idioma." (*More than religion. More than the food or the routine. I know that, yes, it is the language.)* Elena, likewise said "el habla" (the speech) of the United States was the most difficult issue for her as an immigrant. I asked Alex, who also said language was the most difficult issue, if perhaps other things were difficult, such as culture, food, television…any of that. He responded, "No. Solo el idioma," just the language. Dana also said she thought the language was the most difficult part of immigrating. Even Frank, who said that he felt his English was pretty good before he came, and who pointed to the climate differences as the most difficult adjustment for him, said he was embarrassed at first when he had to speak English and this was a difficulty he had to

overcome. Language was overwhelmingly the most stressful part of being a recent immigrant.

Summary of Interview Data

How the participants imagined their life in the United States prior to immigration seemed to affect how they responded to the initial transition. Those who had false expectations of what life would be like found the first months "a little war." The primary stressor for these individuals was the language. The participants indicated that they felt pressure to learn English and stressed the importance of learning English for all immigrants. Nonetheless, they had beliefs that may hinder their English efforts, such as native speakers being the standard, acquiring vocabulary being equal to communicative competence, and that language learning ability is genetic. However, they also believed that English learning was possible once they made up their mind to do it. The used both positive and negative compensation strategies. Negative strategies included saying "yes" to everything and avoiding contact with native or bilingual speakers. Positive strategies included using third party interpretation, cooperating with interlocutors, and using language mixing.

CONNECTING QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE DATA

ESL vs. EFL and Language Anxiety

According to the quantitative data, study of English in the home country was not related to a decrease in language anxiety, regardless of the amount of time English was

studied there. Study of English in the United States, on the other hand, was related to a decrease in anxiety over time. Why would studying English in one context have an effect on anxiety, but not in the context? Perhaps the beliefs held about what good language is and what constitutes language learning can shed some light on this incongruity.

The participants in the qualitative interviews all suggested that they spoke average or above-average Spanish, and that good Spanish was spoken by highly educated or professional people (or people from Spain). Good English was any English spoken by a native individual, professional, educated, or not. The standard for speaking good English is a native speaker, a very high standard for adult immigrants to reach, and with a standard such as that, the fear of being negatively evaluated logically increases.

From the quantitative data, sixty-seven percent of agreed strongly or very strongly that "everyone else speaks better English than I do." In the home country, where comparison of ability is likely to be made with classmates and not native speakers, it stands to reason that a student of English may feel his or her English is good, until he or she comes into contact with a large sample of native speakers. Elena held a high opinion of her English abilities based on her high school studies. Frank, likewise, felt that his English was "very good" prior to coming to the United States based on his courses in high school and college. Both found, upon entering into interactions with native speakers, that the English they thought they had learned was insufficient. When immigrants who have studied English in the home country first come into contact with a native speaker and find they are unable to communicate as well as they thought they would be able to, they may reevaluate their language ability and their language anxiety

may initially increase. Frank said that his first experiences in English were like "a little war" because he felt he knew English but was unable to communicate. Elena similarly found on her first trip across the border that her English was insufficient for communication. The suggestion that the difference in expectation and experience accounts for some of the difference in anxiety effect of EFL and ESL classes is further supported by the fact that self-efficacy in all skills is negatively correlated with language anxiety as shown in Table 12. As their English improves in the United States, and they are consequently able to communicate better with native speakers, their self-confidence in English increases as well, resulting in lower anxiety.

What is perceived as constituting language learning in the EFL and ESL contexts may also account for the differences in effect on language anxiety. According to Elena, the English she studied in Mexico was "very advanced," regardless of the fact that she was having difficulty with a basic English course in the United States. Frank, likewise, felt that his English was "very good," but found that his English was low-level when he had to engage in conversation. Alex said that he never studied English, only later to admit he had, but indicated that the classes focused on basic vocabulary items and nothing more. He began his studies in the beginning level and did very well (averaging an 89 on tests) but it took him eight months to complete the course, indicating that his instruction in English in Mexico had been insufficient even at the basic level.

On the Mexico English Teacher's Alliance website (http://metamexico.ning.com) there is a figure with a speech bubble stating "Make your classes communicative, task- and inquiry-based, and engaging!" Yet, from the responses of the interview participants

(and comments from other students I've had over the years) most classes seem to focus on grammar and vocabulary. Only 10.6% of Mexican high school graduates with six years of English study passed an English assessment test (Lopez, 2006). Why might such disheartening results occur? Generally, junior high and high school classes are taught by native Spanish speakers. According to one study by the Mexican Secretary of Education, 44% of high school English teachers had only a basic English level. Only 28% had an intermediate level or higher. In a scholarship contest among English teachers in Mexico, less than 80% of the teachers scored higher than a 500 on the paper based version of the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL).[13] Horwitz (1996) suggested based on previous studies (1992, 1993) that "when language teachers are not comfortable using the target language, they may unconsciously choose instructional strategies which shield themselves from having to use the language publicly and actively" (p. 366) If Mexican teachers of English are not confident in their English, it is unlikely they will employ communicative activities in which their lack of language skills may be observed. The teachers, therefore, may focus on textbook items that typically involve grammar and vocabulary exercises that have known responses (i.e., in the teacher's book) rather than communication exercises over which the teacher has no direct control.

The majority of participants (65%) in this study believed that the number of grammar rules in English made it impossible to learn them all. In addition, being preoccupied with the number of grammar rules was negatively correlated with self-

[13] The same lack of skill may be found in Spanish classes in the United States. My first native Spanish-speaker instructor in my second year of university Spanish study. When I returned to my fourth year Spanish teacher from high school, I found that she really could not communicate well in Spanish. No wonder we focused on grammar and vocabulary!

efficacy in all four skills as shown in Table 15 below. This relationship implies that as perceived language ability improves the preoccupation with grammar rules decreases, which may further indicate that over time in the United States, communication goals negate the effect of preoccupation with grammar.

Table 15: Self-Efficacy and Preoccupation with Grammar Rules

	Speaking	Writing	Listening	Reading
Grammar Rules	-0.411	-0.355	-0.438	-0.362

LANGUAGE PREFERENCE INDICATORS

The participants in the interviews expressed that English was necessary to living in the United States and the obligation to learn English fell on the immigrant. Nonetheless, it was not uncommon for there to be a lapse between immigration and entry into an English program. Barbara had been in the country four years before she began studying. Alex had been here for six years and only began studying in the previous six to seven months. Elena began immediately, because of her step-mother's insistence, but was consequently not much invested in her studies. What changes occur over time that result in English becoming a goal, or even a language of choice? Alex said that although he recognized he was living in the United States and needed to learn English, he really did not give it much attention because all he was thinking about was "trabajar y trabajar" (*working and working*). Before he knew it, time had passed and then he really became aware of his need to speak English. He felt like Americans wanted to know what he was doing here if he did not speak English.

The degree to which English was employed outside of the classroom varied greatly among the participants. Elena, who appeared to be a little defensive about her English during the interviews, said that she did not use English, and was offended when people who appeared to know Spanish refused to speak Spanish with her. "Saben que no todos sabemos el inglés perfecto. Entonces, ¿como ellos te quieren hacerse menos que ellos?" (*They know that we don't all know perfect English. So, how are they wanting to make you feel less than they are?)* A language preference for Spanish was related to a lower acculturation score and a higher language anxiety score as seen in Table 13.

On the other hand, Barbara, who was also a beginner but had been in the country for a longer period of time, shows how higher acculturation and feeling more comfortable in English is related to preferring English. She stated that she now was using maybe three words in English and two in Spanish. She usually tries to ask for help in English first, but she will use Spanish if it is evident the interlocutor is a Spanish speaker. "El temor se desaparece, la inseguridad desaparece poco a poco" (*The fear is disappearing, the insecurity is disappearing little by little*).

Likewise, Alex, who had been studying English longer and used English at his job, stated that he still felt uncomfortable in English and that people really did not know him for who he was. His preference for Spanish likely increased the probability of those effects and also indicated a lower degree of acculturation.

Across the board, the three higher level students chose English as their language of choice for the interview and used Spanish only for clarification or emphasis. All three said they were now very comfortable in English. They were less likely to forget things

they knew, although Dana did have a language impasse at one point. Moreover, they all expressed that they were able to communicate themselves well in English and had no concerns that the other person did not really understand them. Likewise, the all have American friends with whom the work and socialize. In short, they were all much more acculturated than the other three participants, and the quantitative data shows that their higher acculturation is related to their learning to enjoy using English as a language of communication. The only exception in all three cases is with authority figures. Charles stated he had difficulty speaking with teachers and bosses. Dana said she had difficulty speaking with doctors, and Frank also indicated bosses as being the most difficult people with whom he had to communicate. In those cases, they indicated that they could become tongue-tied, but they were still able to communicate if not as well as they normally would.

The power differential issue may play back into the language preference results. Newer immigrants are more likely to feel powerless (Norton, 2000). As the person gains financial and social capital, he or she may begin to feel more confident in the culture and language, but when the communication is again between people of different degrees of social power, the tendency to become uncomfortable in English and become anxious may increase and influence the ability to utilize the second language as nervous forgetfulness and insecurity come into play.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will summarize and discuss the findings presented in the previous chapter. I will also offer implications for teaching of adults in ESL classrooms. Finally, I will indicate the limitations of this study and make suggestions for future research.

LANGUAGE ACCULTURATION ANXIETY

According to the Pew Foundation (2004) the number of Spanish speaking Latinos is currently greater than Bilingual or English-dominant adult Latinos because of immigration. They researched how language was associated with acculturation by conducting a telephone survey of 4,213 Hispanic adults, 1309 of whom were Spanish dominant. They found that language contributed substantially to all key questions of acculturation, even when controlling for all other variables, including the generation in the United States. (61% of adult Hispanics in the United States are first generation immigrants) (*Assimilation and Language*, 2004). This study is what caused me to ask what would happen if I considered all items as part of one scale. Was there consistency and sufficient correlations among the items that would point to some phenomenon subsuming language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress? The answer is yes. As discussed in the previous chapter, Cronbach's alpha for all items treated as one scale is .878, a very high measure of reliability, especially given that the scales themselves did not correlate with one another as wholes.

Therefore, although the data support the existence of language anxiety, acculturation, and acculturative stress as separate constructs, and provides confirmatory support with results consistent with those of previous studies that the instruments

developed to measure these phenomena are reliable, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that these three constructs contribute to a larger construct that I will call language acculturation anxiety.

In examining the proportion of participants who were anxious with regards to language learning, I found that it was nearly double that found in studies where the language learning context was academic. In fact 62% were highly anxious and 36% moderately anxious, leaving only 2% to feel little anxiety while learning English. The usual finding for language classroom anxiety is approximately one-third (Horwitz, 2000). This indicates that there is something decisively different about learning language as an adult within the target language group environment than learning a language as a college student in one's native language environment.

That this is a different phenomenon is further supported by the differences found in the relationships of EFL and ESL study and the various items. Study of English in the home language environment (EFL) had no statistically significant relationship to the level of language anxiety, but studying English in the United States (ESL) was negatively correlated with language anxiety. English studied in the home country did not seem to immunize in any way against anxious feelings while continuing to learn English in the United States, but studying English in the United States, whether or not English had been previously studied in the home country, was related to decreased levels of language anxiety. Furthermore, those who had studied ESL for longer periods of time were less likely to feel as though they were different people when speaking English. Over time, the study of ESL seemed to decrease the "new dress" effect of language that Stengel (1939)

suggested was a super-ego protection mechanism. ESL students became less uncomfortable in their new English dress code the longer they studied. Studying English prior to immigration, however, had no effect on this perception of identity. In addition, EFL study tended to be more concerned with grammar rules, as indicated by the correlations and by Elena's comment that she studied "higher" English in Mexico than she was being taught in her ESL program. It seems that the focusing on grammar rules in the EFL increases feelings of hopelessness ("there are so many rules, I'll *never* learn them all") which can contribute to anxiety.

Moreover, the length of time in the United States did not directly correlate with acculturation or language anxiety which seems to support Schumann's acculturation model of language acquisition. It is not only the length of exposure, but the degree of exposure (or enclosure) that is associated with the degree of language acquisition. Although these participants are living in the target language culture, and may have incorporated some aspects of the culture (knowing how to cook American food, having American friends, reading an American newspaper), they are still socially and/or psychologically distant from the target language culture.

In addition, thinking in Spanish was correlated with higher nervousness, including feeling nervous and confused when speaking English and forgetting things already learned. It was also correlated with feeling insecure and believing everyone speaks better than you. Being unable to express your true feelings and feeling that others don't know you as your "true self" were also correlated with thinking in Spanish. On the other hand, thinking in English was correlated with being fully confident, enjoying English, not being

bothered by correction, and not being bothered when someone assumes you are a Spanish speaker.

Enjoying English, likewise, was highly correlated with being comfortable in the United States and with speaking English, reading American newspapers, speaking English at home, feeling accepted by Americans and having them as friends, and even socializing with Americans. Similarly, feeling fully confident in English was highly correlated with being comfortable in the United States, speaking English with a partner at home, not worrying about errors, reading American newspapers, having American friends and socializing with them, and eating American food. Clearly, there is a relationship between how an immigrant to the United States feels about English and the degree to which they are acculturated into American society.

I propose that a new construct is suggested from these data, Language Acculturation Anxiety, which takes into consideration the level of language anxiety, the level of acculturation, and the level of acculturative stress. The interactions of these elements produces something greater than the sum of the parts, much like a pancake is not the sum of its elemental parts of milk, flour, and eggs. Language anxiety alone does not appropriate reflect the experiences of adult immigrants, because the degree of anxiety was much greater in the mix of acculturation than it was apart from it (i.e., in the home context). Acculturation alone does not account for their experiences either. Length of residence was not associated with acculturation. Although the longer someone lives in the United States, the more likely he or she will socialize with Americans and feel

comfortable living here, it is not shown that those factors relate to a decrease in language anxiety or acculturative stress.

Language acculturation anxiety is conceptually the perceiving of the learning of another language when moving from one culture to another as threatening to social identity and, thus, to self-concept. It is identifiable by high language anxiety, a low level of general acculturation, and a clear preference for the first language not only in thought but in everyday use, even though the second language may be more appropriate or even necessary. It is an effect of the negotiation of identity with the members of the target language population. If individuals do not feel that they can successfully negotiate an identity comparable to their previous understanding of who they are and how they relate to the world, they respond by becoming anxious about the medium of that negotiation, language.

Elena's defensiveness regarding people she perceived to be Spanish speakers not being willing to speak Spanish is a classic example. She ascribed the reason for their refusal as being a desire to reduce her value as a person. She recognized that their refusal to use Spanish relegated her to a powerless position in the social identity negotiation. Frank saying that his first uses of English were like "a little war" is telling. The war, however, was more internal than external. Being very well educated and coming from a white collar family, when he was threatened with termination because of his English, he had to reevaluate his social standing and the degree or symbolic capitol that he had at his disposal. Charlie was terrified when anyone spoke in English to him and simply answered "yes" regardless of the question or context. Although he also was

college educated, he accepted a subservient posture when dealing with native English speakers. Likewise, Dana experienced language acculturation anxiety in her earlier days of language acquisition. Because she was not able to communicate with the police officer, a situation in which she was already relegated to a lower power position, she was furious and sought to validate herself by way of an interpreter.

Language acculturation anxiety is neither a simple part of the acculturation process. Speakers from countries where English is spoken immigrate to other English speaking countries and go through acculturation processes, but the level of language acculturation anxiety is not likely to be very great. (There may be some degree of language acculturation anxiety due to regional differences). But the acculturation of language, as Barbara put it, is more difficult than "more than the religion, more than the food or the routine" because it is intimately tied with self-concept.

In the classroom, the main threat is that of negative evaluation by an instructor, perhaps fear of making a mistake in front of the class or failing. The student understands that he or she may not be able to communicate fully what they want to say, but the student also knows the class is of limited duration. Immigrants have no such reprieve. The attack on their identity is constant; the fear is of being made fun of, being misunderstood, or being taken advantage of, of not being able to defend oneself. The risk is survival in a foreign land. But language acculturation anxiety is not just a separate construct because the risks of failing to learn the language are greater. The immigrant is trying to become part of the new society, to find his or her place in a new world. Charles said that the worst part about being an immigrant was just knowing he was an immigrant,

and that at the point he decided this is your country, this is his language, life became a lot easier. The data also reflect this. The differences between a preference for English and a preference for Spanish are clear. When language acculturation anxiety is overcome and acceptance and enjoyment of the "English self" begins, the individual is able to be comfortable in and become more integrated to the new society.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING

All education is inherently intertwined with socialization. K-12 teachers are aware of their responsibility not to simply convey facts and figures but to prepare children to be responsible participants in the culture in which they live. The Texas Statutes Education Code 4.001 (b) Objective 5 explicitly states that: "Educators will prepare students to be thoughtful, active citizens who have an appreciation for the basic values of our state and national heritage and who can understand and productively function in a free enterprise society" ("Texas Public Education Academic Codes," 1995). For adult educators, the socialization aspect is not usually as clearly defined, but we certainly do not operate in a culturally neutral environment. Cultural issues of class, gender, race and power always abound. Our students are often all too aware of racial issues. It is our job to help them understand that we believe "all men [and women] are created equal." We need to help our students learn to live and function productively in our culture. This can be a trying task, since our students have already been enculturated to their home society and now must adapt to one that is significantly different in many

ways. From an additive perspective, we must balance between helping our students learn how to live in this culture without abandoning their own.

During this acculturation process for adults, they clearly experience some emotional, and often physical, stress and anxiety. That nearly all the participants in this study scored as moderately to highly anxious should be taken seriously by every instructor of adult ESL. "A shift from one language to another is a shift between different worlds, where speakers of each one thing their version is "objective," but they're both wrong" (Agar, 1994, p. 66). Unfortunately, culture is not simply a thing that can be dissected and explained. It is an experience. It is what is happening to our students every day as they try to make sense of their place in this society and redefine themselves accordingly. As an adult educator, we are in a unique position that allows us to help these people navigate the changes in their environment and themselves.

The data indicate that we should keep in mind also that recent immigrants often have a more difficult time managing their physical and emotional environment than those who have lived in the U.S. for a while. Yet, if someone has been in this country some time but has not interacted with the culture, has isolated themselves from the influences of the dominant culture and language, he or she may still find learning English a threatening task. Also, the data indicate that men are more likely to feel their socio-identity is threatened. Women in this culture have considerable freedom and the gender roles, while still a far cry from equal, are more equivalent than in many other cultures, including the Latino culture. From anecdotal evidence, I know that some men view the change in the women in their life (who seem to adopt quickly the liberty of American

women) as undermining their authority in the home and their social status as a male. Since many ESL teachers are women, this sometimes results in awkward situations such as proposals (decent and indecent) or acting disrespectfully (by American standards) to women in the classroom.

ESL instructors need to address directly the feelings of their students and allow their students to discuss their feelings openly. Having discussion times in either English or the first language may help students feel less isolated as they are able to develop social networks in the classroom and realize their classmates are having similar experiences. While ESL instructors are generally not psychologists, maintaining open communication with our students is vital. We need to make the ESL classroom a safe environment not only to learn and practice English, but to discuss the process as well. Having a list of referral services such as mental health providers who speak our students' languages, clinics, houses of worship, legal aid, clothes closets and food pantries proves very useful and builds confidence between the student and teacher. Our students might not care how much we know until they know how much we care.

I would also suggest that this study implies that we should keep out of class work to a minimum. Unlike college students, our students are usually very busy with their jobs, home, and social obligations. Adding homework to the daily grind adds one more straw to the camel's back, and we do not know which straw will be the last one. Additionally, when assigned homework is not completed, showing disapproval without sympathy is likely to cause a breach in communication between the teacher and student. Additionally, if the classroom can be arranged so that the learner has a balance between a

sense of autonomy and accountability, it is likely that we can limit the additional stress of the classroom and at the same time promote lifelong learning. "The most important attitude that can be formed is that of desire to go on learning" (Dewey, 1938, p. 48).

LIMITATIONS

This study has several limitations that need to be considered both in the interpretation of the results and for future research.

First, there were limitations due to the mode of delivery. The mode of delivery, the website, was initially chosen for several good methodological reasons. One, it was intended to offset the problem of first language literacy. The website was set up so that the participant could both see and hear the question, meaning that preliterate or individuals with low levels of first language literacy would not be excluded. Including these individuals could also have been done through personal interviews; however, the website was chosen over face-to-face interviews because of the problem of social desirability. Participants might respond according to what they thought the interviewer wanted to hear in a face-to-face interview. The principle researcher being also their teacher could have further exacerbated this effect. Additionally, variations in how the question would be read could theoretically alter the responses. The website mode was chosen, therefore, to include participants from all literacy levels, to encourage the most honest response possible, and to have as much consistency as possible in the survey delivery across participants.

What was overlooked was that computer literacy among recent immigrants from Latin America is not as high as among citizens of the United States, as discussed in

chapter 3. Moreover, Fox and Livingston (2007) report that only 56% of all adult Latinos (immigrant and citizen) use the Internet, compared to 71% of non-Hispanic whites and 60% of non-Hispanic blacks. That proportion drops to 43% for Latinos born outside of the States, and for those who consider Spanish their dominant language that number drops to 32%, indicating that computer use may be an indicator of level of acculturation as well. In addition, the level of education for all races decreases the likelihood of Internet use (32% for whites, 31% for Hispanics, and 25% for African Americans). However, since 41% of Latino adults (immigrant and citizens) have not finished high school, they are less likely to use computers because of their educational level as well (Fox & Livingston, 2007).

The use of the website impacted this study in two ways. First, the sample was restricted to those adults with Internet access. In effect, this meant that the majority of the participants were members of English Now, which has a computer lab and requires computer literacy as part of the curriculum. The chain or snowball sampling was not effective because the majority of participants did not have enough computer-literate contacts to invite to be participants in the study. In addition, those participants that were reached by referral were more likely to be more highly educated and not representative.

Secondly, the sample was restricted in size. Although the website ran for over a year, it only yielded 95 surveys, nearly half of which (40) were eventually discarded for too many missing data points. The website was advertised through business cards, emails, and direct requests repeatedly over the course of the year, all to no avail. Because of the resulting small sample size, the kinds of legitimate statistical analyses that

could be conducted were limited to very basic types (descriptive and simple correlations). In addition, all data results have to be taken cautiously as to their generalizability to other context because of both the small size and type sample.

Taking into consideration that I am the instructor for the majority of these participants requires that social desirability effect be considered, especially for the qualitative data but also for the data collected via the Internet. Participants may have responded as they thought I would expect them to, rather than with their genuine answers.

Another limitation of this study is that it focused exclusively on immigrants whose first language is Spanish. It is possible that other language groups may have very different experiences. Furthermore, because the participants were mostly past or present members of English Now, where we do frequently discuss issues of language anxiety, acculturation and acculturative stressors, these participants may have been more aware of the issues addressed in the items and responded differently than others from the same background who have not had the opportunity to discuss their experiences. Additionally, the sample was not randomized and the degree to which it applies to an ESL teacher's own situation can only be determined by that instructor.

The appropriateness of the acculturation and acculturative stress scales to this population must also be considered. Although the age group was roughly the same in this study and the Multidimensional Acculturative Stress Inventory (MASI) study (33 and 32.5 respectively), the MASI was tested on immigrants who averaged 20 years (sd=11.05) in the United States (Rodriguez et al.) while the average participant in this study had been in the United States a little less than 6 years (sd=5.37). By deduction,

then, the MASI was tested on immigrants who most likely entered the United States as teenagers, not adults (32.5 years of age – 20 years of residence = 12.5 years as age of entry). Likewise the Stephenson Multigroup Acculturation Scale (Stephenson, 2000 was tested with only 12 Hispanics in the first round of testing and 10 in the second. The SMAS was also given in English only, meaning that the participants had to be fairly fluent English speakers and may even have been native born Americans. In subsequent testing, 85 Hispanic Americans were recruited from various countries with no distinction as to whether they were first or subsequent generation immigrants, although she does report that 47.25% of the total sample were immigrant or first generation individuals. They also differed in that the mean level of education was 13 years, as compared to 9.8 years in this study. Scales developed with demographic backgrounds closer to those of this group may have revealed more information about the relationships among the three constructs. The development of scales that target acculturation and acculturative stress in recent immigrant populations, tested on samples that demographically reflect that population, is highly recommended.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

I would also like to suggest a few other possible directions for research in this area for the future. First, developing a scale that measures language acculturation anxiety would be useful. The evidence presented in this paper indicates that this construct exists but it needs to be operationalized and measured in some way. Focus on language attitudes and beliefs (the enjoyment of the language, the self-efficacy one has in the language, the employment of the language voluntarily on a daily basis) and how those

attitudes and beliefs are intertwined with acculturation and acculturative stress may produce a deeper understanding of language acculturation anxiety. Also, repeating the study with a different delivery method, with a randomized, or at least more diverse, sample, would also be helpful. Also, repeating the study with a different language group or multiple language groups would help to define if this is a phenomenon particular to Latino immigrants or more widespread.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: ELAS (PAPPAMIHIEL, 1999)

Favor de llenar el círculo de la letra que mejor exprese su nivel de conformidad con las siguientes declaraciones.
Please fill in the circle of the letter that best expresses your level of agreement or disagreement with the statement.

A = completamente de acuerdo	(Strongly Agree)
B = de acuerdo	(Agree)
C= sin una opinión determinada	(Neutral)
D = en desacuerdo	(Disagree)
E = completamente en desacuerdo	(Strongly Disagree)

En clases regulares: significa las clases que no son clases de ESL y tienen estudiantes americanos que hablan inglés como idioma nativo
En clases regulares: this means the classes you have that are not ESL classes and have native English speaking students in them.

I never feel sure of myself when I'm speaking English.
1. En clases de ESL: Nunca estoy seguro(a) de mí mismo(a) cuando estoy hablando inglés.
2. En clases regulares: Nunca estoy seguro(a) de mí mismo(a) cuando estoy hablando inglés.

I get so nervous I forget how to say things I know
3. En clases de ESL: Me siento tan nervioso(a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.
4. En clases regulares: Me siento tan nervioso(a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.

I tremble when I know I'm going to have to speak English
5. En clases de ESL: Tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar inglés.
6. En clases regulares: Tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar inglés.

I start to panic when I have to speak English without preparation.
7. En clases de ESL: Empiezo a sentir pánico cuando tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.
8. En clases regulares: Empiezo a sentir pánico cuando tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.

I don’t worry about making mistakes when I speak English.
9. En clases de ESL: No me preocupa cometer errores cuando hablo inglés.
10. En clases regulares: No me preocupa cometer errores cuando hablo inglés.

It embarrasses me to volunteer answers in English.
11. En clases de ESL: Me avergüenza tener que responder voluntariamente en inglés.
12. En clases regulares: Me avergüenza tener que responder voluntariamente en inglés.

I am not nervous speaking English with native speakers.
13. En clases de ESL: No me siento nervioso(a) hablando inglés con hablantes nativos de inglés.
14. En clases regulares: No me siento nervioso(a) hablando inglés con hablantes nativos de inglés.

I get upset when I don’t understand why my teachers are correcting my English.
15. En clases de ESL: Me molesta cuando no entiendo por qué mis maestras corrigen mi inglés.
16. En clases regulares: Me molesta cuando no entiendo por qué mis maestras corrigen mi inglés.

When I speak English, I feel like a different person.
17. En clases de ESL: Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.
18. En clases regulares: Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.

Even when I’m prepared to speak English, I get nervous.
19. En clases de ESL: Aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).
20. En clases regulares: Aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).

I feel confident when I speak English.
21. En clases de ESL: Me siento lleno(a) de confianza cuando hablo inglés.
22. En clases regulares: siento lleno(a) de confianza cuando hablo inglés.

I am afraid that my teachers are ready to correct every English mistake I make.
23. En clases de ESL: Me da miedo pensar que mis maestros están listas para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.
24. En clases regulares: Me da miedo pensar que mis maestros están listas para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.

I can feel my heart pounding when I’m called on and I have to answer in English.
25. En clases de ESL: Siento que mi corazón pulsa muy fuerte cuando tengo que contestar en inglés.

26. En clases regulares: Siento que mi corazón pulsa muy fuerte cuando tengo que contestar en inglés.
I keep thinking that all the other ESL students speak English better than I do.
27. En clases de ESL: Sigo pensando que todos los demás estudiantes de ESL hablan inglés mejor que yo.
28. En clases regulares: Sigo pensando que todos los demás estudiantes de ESL hablan inglés mejor que yo.

I feel comfortable speaking English.
29. En clases de ESL: Me siento a gusto hablando inglés.
30. En clases regulares: Me siento a gusto hablando inglés.

My classes move so quickly, I worry about getting left behind because of my English ability.
31. En clases de ESL: Mis cursos son tan acelerados que my preocupa quedarme atrás por falta de mi habilidad en inglés.
32. En clases regulares: Mis cursos son tan acelerados que my preocupa quedarme atrás por falta de mi habilidad en inglés.

Sometimes I can't express my true feelings in English and this makes me uncomfortable.
33. En clases de ESL: Hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos en inglés y esto me incomoda.
34. En clases regulares: Hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos en inglés y esto me incomoda.

I feel very self-conscious about speaking English in front of native speaking students.
35. En clases de ESL: Pienso demasiado cuando hablo inglés ante los estudiantes cuyo primer idioma es el inglés.
36. En clases regulares: Pienso demasiado cuando hablo inglés ante los estudiantes cuyo primer idioma es el inglés.

I get nervous and confused when I'm speaking English.
37. En clases de ESL: Me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés.
38. En clases regulares: Me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés.

I get nervous when I don't understand every word my teachers say.
39. En clases de ESL: Me siento nervioso(a) cuando no entiendo todas las palabras que dicen mis maestras.
40. En clases regulares: Me siento nervioso(a) cuando no entiendo todas las palabras que dicen mis maestras.

There are so many rules in English, I feel like I can't learn them all.

41. En clases de ESL: Hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas.
42. En clases regulares: Hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas.

I am afraid that native English speaking students will laugh at me when I speak English.
43. En clases de ESL: Tengo miedo que los estudiantes cuyo primer idioma es el inglés se burlarán de mí cuando hable inglés.
44. En clases regulares: Tengo miedo que los estudiantes cuyo primer idioma es el inglés se burlarán de mí cuando hable inglés.

When I speak English, I feel like people don't see me the way I really am.
45. En clases de ESL: Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como si la gente no me conoce como realmente soy.
46. En clases regulares: Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como si la gente no me conoce como realmente soy.

I feel more nervous and tense speaking English outside my ESL classes than within my ESL class.
47. En todas mis clases: Me siento más nervioso(a) y tenso(a) hablando inglés fuera de mi clase de ESL que dentro de mi clase de ESL.

APPENDIX B: ELAS-AI (ADAPTED FROM PAPPAMIHIEL, 1999)

Favor de llenar el círculo de la letra que mejor exprese su nivel de conformidad con las siguientes declaraciones.

A = completamente de acuerdo
B = de acuerdo
C = sin una opinión determinada
D = en desacuerdo
E = completamente en desacuerdo

ESL = inglés como segundo idioma

EN LA CLASE DE ESL: (not used in the final delivery)

1. Nunca estoy seguro(a) de mí mismo(a) cuando hablo inglés.
2. Me siento tan nervioso(a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.
3. Tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar inglés.
4. Empiezo a sentir pánico cuanto tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.
5. No me preocupa cometer errores cuando hablo inglés.
6. Me avergüenza tener que responder voluntariamente en inglés.
7. No me siento nervioso(a) hablando inglés con hablantes nativos del inglés.
8. Me molesta cuando no entiendo por qué mis maestres corrigen mi inglés.
9. Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.
10. Aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).
11. Me siento lleno(a) de confianza cuando hablo inglés.
12. Me da miedo pensar que mis maestras están listas para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.
13. Siento que mi corazón pulsa muy fuerte cuanto tengo que contestar en inglés.
14. Sigo pensando que todos los demás estudiantes de ESL hablan inglés mejor que yo.
15. Me siento a gusto hablando inglés.
16. Mis cursos son tan acelerados que me preocupa quedarme atrás por falta de mi habilidad en inglés.
17. Hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos en inglés y esto me incomoda.
18. Pienso demasiado cuando hablo inglés ante las personas cuyo primer idioma es el inglés.
19. Me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés.
20. Me siento nervioso(a) cuando no entiendo todas las palabras que dicen mis maestras.
21. Hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas.
22. Tengo miedo que los cuyo primer idioma es el inglés se burlarán de mí cuando hable inglés.
23. Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como si la gente no me conoce como realmente soy.

24. Me siento más nervioso(a) y tenso(a) hablando inglés fuera de mi clase de ESL que dentro de mi clase de ESL.
25. Me siento más nervioso(a) en parejas y grupos pequeños que en la clase junta.

En La Vida Diaria:

EN LA CLASE DE ESL:

1. Nunca estoy seguro(a) de mí mismo(a) cuando hablo inglés.
2. Me siento tan nervioso(a) que se me olvida cómo decir cosas que ya sé.
3. Tiemblo cuando sé que voy a tener que hablar inglés.
4. Empiezo a sentir pánico cuanto tengo que hablar inglés sin preparación.
5. No me preocupa cometer errores cuando hablo inglés.
6. Me avergüenza tener que responder voluntariamente en inglés.
7. No me siento nervioso(a) hablando inglés con hablantes nativos del inglés.
8. Me molesta cuando no entiendo por qué mis compañeros corrigen mi inglés.
9. Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como una persona diferente.
10. Aún cuando estoy preparado(a) para hablar en inglés, me pongo nervioso(a).
11. Me siento lleno(a) de confianza cuando hablo inglés.
12. Me da miedo pensar que mis compañeros están listos para corregir cada error que cometa en inglés.
13. Siento que mi corazón pulsa muy fuerte cuanto tengo que contestar en inglés.
14. Sigo pensando que todos los demás hablan inglés mejor que yo.
15. Me siento a gusto hablando inglés.
16. Mis compañeros hablan tan rápidos que me preocupa quedarme atrás por falta de mi habilidad en inglés.
17. Hay veces que no puedo expresar mis verdaderos sentimientos en inglés y esto me incomoda.
18. Pienso demasiado cuando hablo inglés ante las personas cuyo primer idioma es el inglés.
19. Me siento nervioso(a) y lleno(a) de confusión cuando estoy hablando inglés.
20. Me siento nervioso(a) cuando no entiendo todas las palabras que dicen mis compañeros.
21. Hay tantas reglas en inglés que siento que nunca las voy a aprender todas.
22. Tengo miedo que los cuyo primer idioma es el inglés se burlarán de mí cuando hable inglés.
23. Cuando hablo inglés, me siento como si la gente no me conoce como realmente soy.
24. Me siento más nervioso(a) y tenso(a) hablando inglés con chicanos que con americanos blancos.
25. Me enoja cuando alguien niega hablar en español conmigo y sé que lo puede.

APPENDIX C: STEPHENSON MULTIGROUP ACCULTURATION SCALE (SMAS)[14]

Below are a number of statements that evaluate changes that occur when people interact with others of different cultures or ethnic groups. For questions that refer to "COUNTRY OF ORIGIN" or "NATIVE COUNTRY," please refer to the country from which your family originally came. For questions referring to "NATIVE LANGUAGE," please refer to the language spoken where your family originally came.

Circle the answer that best matches your response to each statement.
False Partly False Partly True True

1. I understand English, but I'm not fluent in English.
2. I am informed about current affairs in the United States.
3. I speak my native language with my friends and acquaintances from my country of origin.
4. I have never learned to speak the language of my native country.
5. I feel totally comfortable with (Anglo) American people.
6. I eat traditional foods from my native culture.
7. I have many (Anglo) American acquaintances.
8. I feel comfortable speaking my native language.
9. I am informed about current affairs in my native country.
10. I know how to read and write in my native language.
11. I feel at home in the United States.
12. I attend social functions with people from my native country.
13. I feel accepted by (Anglo) Americans.
14. I speak my native language at home.
15. I regularly read magazines of my ethnic group.
16. I know how to speak my native language.
17. I know how to prepare (Anglo) American foods.
18. I am familiar with the history of my native country.
19. I regularly read an American newspaper.
20. I like to listen to music of my ethnic group.
21. I like to speak my native language.
22. I feel comfortable speaking English.
23. I speak English at home.
24. I speak my native language with my spouse or partner.
25. When I pray, I use my native language.
26. I attend social functions with (Anglo) American people.
27. I think in my native language.
28. I stay in close contact with family members and relatives in my native country.
29. I am familiar with important people in American history.
30. I think in English.
31. I speak English with my spouse or partner.
32. I like to eat American foods.

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APPENDIX D: STEPHENSON MULTIGROUP ACCULTURATION SCALE-REVISED, TRANSLATED INTO SPANISH, AND RANDOMIZED (SMAS-RS)

1. Hablo español con mi pareja.
2. Pienso en español.
3. Hablo español en casa.
4. Asisto a funciones sociales con personas angloamericanas.
5. Estoy familiarizado con la historia de mi país.
6. Hablo español con mis amigos y compañeros.
7. Sé leer y escribir en español.
8. Estoy informado(a) de los asuntos actuales de me país.
9. Me siento cómodo(a) cuando hablo inglés.
10. Pienso en inglés.
11. Como las comidas tradicionales de mi cultura nativa.
12. Hablo inglés con mi pareja.
13. Entiendo inglés, pero no soy muy bueno en el idioma.
14. Me siento completamente cómodo(a) con americanos.
15. Estoy informado(a) de los asuntos actuales de los Estados Unidos.
16. Regularmente leo un periódico americano.
17. Regularmente leo revistas hispanas.
18. Tengo muchos compañeros americanos.
19. Sé preparar la comida americana.
20. Me gusta escuchar la música hispana.
21. Cuando rezo, uso el español.
22. Me siento cómodo en los Estados Unidos.
23. Me siento aceptado por los angloamericanos.
24. Me mantengo en contacto con los miembros de familia y parientes.
25. Conozco la gente importante en la historia de los Estados Unidos.
26. Me gusta comer la comida americana.
27. Asisto a funciones sociales con personas de mi país.
28. Hablo inglés en casa.

APPENDIX E: ESCALA MULTIDIMENSIONAL DE ESTRÉS DE ACULTURACIÓN

Abajo hay una lista de situaciones que como Mexicano/Latino quizás usted haya experimentado. Lea cada frase cuidadosamente y primero decide si ha experimentado la situación en los últimos 3 meses. Si ha experimentado la situación en los últimos 3 meses, circule SÍ. Entonces circule el numero que mejor representa CUÁNTO ESTRÉS ha tenido en esa situación. Si no ha experimentado la situación en los últimos 3 meses, circule NO y sigue al próximo frase.

1 = Nada de Estrés
2 = Un poco de Estrés
3 = Algo de Estrés
4 = Mucho de Estrés
5 = Muchísimo Estrés

1. Tengo dificultad entendiendo a la gente cuando hablan en inglés.
2. Tengo dificultad entendiendo a la gente cuando hablan en español.
3. Me siento presionado/a al aprender español.
4. Me molesta que hablo inglés con un acento.
5. Me molesta que hablo español con un acento.
6. Como no hablo bien el inglés, la gente me ha tratado rudamente o injustamente.
7. He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando inglés.
8. No hablo inglés o no lo hablo bien.
9. No hablo español o no lo hablo bien.
10. Me siento presionado/a al aprender inglés.
11. Me siento incómodo/a alrededor de gente que sólo habla inglés.
12. Me siento incómodo/a alrededor de gente que sólo habla español.
13. Me molesta cuando la gente asume que hablo inglés.
14. Me molesta cuando la gente asume que hablo español.
15. Como no hablo bien el español, la gente me ha tratado rudamente o injustamente.
16. He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando español.
17. Me molesta cuando la gente me presiona a asimilar al modo Americano de hacer las cosas.
18. Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores Mexicanos/Latinos (por ejemplo, familia).
19. Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores Americanos (por ejemplo, independencia).
20. Estoy consciente de mi mismo/a por mi fondo Mexicano/Latino.
21. Estoy consciente de mi mismo/a por mi fondo Americano.
22. Por mi origen cultural, tengo dificultad relacionando con Americanos.
23. Por mi origen cultural, tengo dificultad relacionando con Mexicanos/Latinos.
24. No me siento aceptado/a por Mexicanos/Latinos.
25. No me siento aceptado/a por Americanos.

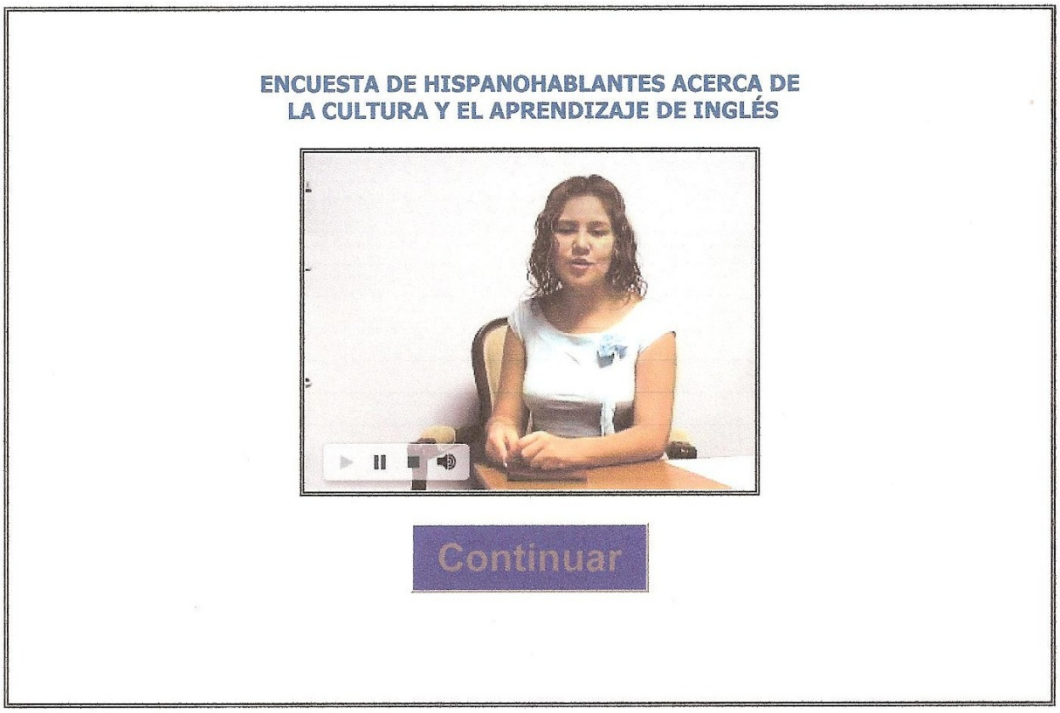
26. He tenido conflictos con otros porque prefiero las costumbres Americanas (por ejemplo, celebrando Halloween, Thanksgiving), sobre las costumbres Mexicanas/Latinas (por ejemplo, celebrando Día de los Muertos, Quinceañeras).
27. He tenido conflictos con otros porque prefiero las costumbres Mexicanas/Latinas, (por ejemplo, celebrando Día de los Muertos, Quinceañeras), sobre las costumbres Americanas (por ejemplo, celebrando Halloween, Thanksgiving).
28. La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres Mexicanas/Latinas.
29. La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres Americanas.
30. Me siento incómodo/a cuando tengo que escoger entre los modos Mexicanos/Latinos y los modos Americanos de hacer las cosas.
31. Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos Americanas de hacer las cosas.
32. Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos Mexicanos/Latinos de hacer cosas.
33. Me siento incómodo/a cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo Americano de hacer las cosas.
34. Me siento incómodo/a cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo Mexicano/Latino de hacer las cosas.
35. A veces, quisiera ser más Americano/a.
36. A veces, quisiera ser más Mexicano/Latino.

APPENDIX F: MULTIDIMENSIONAL ACCULTURATIVE STRESS INVENTORY – REVISED AND RANDOMIZED

1. Me molesta cuando la gente asume que hablo español.
2. Me molesta que hablo español con acento.
3. A veces, quisiera ser más Mexicano/Latinoamericano.
4. A veces, quisiera ser más Americano/a.
5. No me siento aceptado/a por Mexicanos/Latinos.
6. Me siento incómodo/a alrededor de gente que sólo habla inglés.
7. Me molesta cuando hablo inglés con acento.
8. Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos Americanos de hacer las cosas.
9. Me siento incómodo/a cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo Mexicano/Latinoamericano de hacer las cosas.
10. Como no hablo bien el español, la gente me ha tratado mal ó injustamente.
11. Me siento incómodo/a cuando tengo que escoger entre los modos Mexicanos/Latinoamericanos y los modos Americanos de hacer las cosas.
12. Me siento presionado/a al aprender español.
13. Tengo dificultad para entender a la gente cuando habla en inglés.
14. La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres Mexicanas/Latinoamericanas.
15. Por mi origen cultural, tengo dificultad relacionándome con americanos.
16. Me molesta cuando la gente asume que hablo inglés.
17. Estoy consciente de mi mismo/a por mis raíces Americanas.
18. Estoy consciente de mi mismo/a por mis raíces Mexicanos/Latinos.
19. Como no hablo bien el inglés, la gente me ha tratado mal ó injustamente.
20. He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando español.
21. No me siento aceptado/a por Americanos.
22. Me siento incómodo/a alrededor de gente que sólo habla español.
23. Por mi origen cultural, tengo dificultad relacionándome con Mexicanos/Latinoamericanos.
24. No hablo español o no lo hablo bien.
25. Tengo dificultad para entender a la gente cuando habla en español.
26. Me siento incómodo/a porque mi familia no sabe los modos Mexicanos/Latinos de hacer cosas.
27. Me molesta cuando la gente me presiona a asimilar al modo Americano de hacer las cosas.
28. He tenido conflictos con otros porque prefiero las costumbres Americanas (por ejemplo, celebrando Halloween, Thanksgiving), sobre las costumbres Mexicanas/Latinas (por ejemplo, celebrando Día de los Muertos, Quinceañeras).
29. La gente me mira mal si practico costumbres Americanas.
30. No hablo inglés o no lo hablo bien.
31. Me siento incómodo/a cuando otros esperan que yo sepa el modo Americano de hacer las cosas.

32. Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores Mexicanos/Latinos (por ejemplo, mi familia).
33. He tenido conflictos con otros porque prefiero las costumbres Mexicanas/Latinas sobre las costumbres Americanas.
34. Me siento presionado/a al aprender inglés.
35. He sido discriminado porque tengo dificultad hablando inglés.
36. Me molesta cuando la gente no respeta mis valores Americanos (por ejemplo, mi independencia).

APPENDIX G: SAMPLE WEBSITE PAGES



Web Page 1: Introduction Screen

Consentimiento Informado
para Poder Participar en una Investigación
La Universidad de Texas, Austin

Pedimos su participación en una investigación. Este formulario le provee con la información con respecto a la investigación. La investigadora principal puede contestar las preguntas que tenga si usted se pone en contacto con ella por medio de correo electrónico (glenda@english-now.us) ó por teléfono (512-789-5131) . Por favor, lea (ó escuche) la información de abajo. Haga preguntas sobre todo lo que no entienda bien, antes de decidir participar en esta investigación. Su participación es totalmente voluntaria y puede negar participar sin castigo o pérdida de beneficios, que aparte de esto, merece.

Título de la Investigación:
La Ansiedad de aculturación lingüística de inmigrantes adultos e hispanohablantes que aprenden inglés

Investigadora Principal: Glenda L. Rose
Fuentes del Apoyo Económico: ninguno

¿Cuál es el propósito de esta investigación?
Esta es una investigación inicial de la relación entre la ansiedad de aprender inglés, el estrés de aculturación, y el proceso de acostumbrarse a una nueva cultura.

¿Qué sucederá si Usted participa en esta investigación?
Si participa en esta investigación usted tomará 3 encuestas por este sitio Web.

¿Cuáles son las posibles molestias y los riesgos?
El hecho de pensar en el proceso de cambiar y el aprendizaje de inglés puede hacerse incómodo. Pero de verdad, los riesgos son muy pocos. Vamos a hacer todo posible para mantener su privacidad. Todas las respuestas serán anónimas.

¿Qué son los posibles beneficios para Usted y para otras personas?
Es posible que los resultados informe a los maestros algo de los problemas de la transición de ser monolingüe a ser bilingüe y por eso mejore la calidad de enseñanza. También usted puede dar cuenta de los estancamientos en su propio proceso de aprendizaje y encontrar maneras de vencerlos.

Si decide participar en esta investigación, ¿le costará algo?
No. No cuesta nada a los participantes menos un poco de tiempo.

¿Recibirá alguna compensación por su participación?
No. Solo nuestro agradecimiento sincero.

¿Qué sucederá si está herida por participar en esta investigación?
El riesgo de ser herido es muy pequeño, pero si algo pasa, lo ayudaremos en encontrar tratamiento apropiado.

Si no quiere participar en esta investigación, ¿qué son las otras opciones disponibles para Usted?
La participación en esta investigación es completamente voluntaria. Usted está libre de negarnos a participar, y su negación no influirá su relación actualmente ni en el futuro con la Universidad de Texas en Austin, ni English Now, ni su relación con otra agencia.

¿Cómo puede retirarse de esta investigación, y con quién debe hablar si tiene preguntas?

Si quiere dejar de participar en esta investigación por cualquiera razón, debe llamar a 512-789-5131 (glyndalin@yahoo.com,) ó a mi supervisora, Dra. Elaine Horwitz, a 512-232-4108, (Horwitz@mail.utexas.edu, The

University of Texas at Austin, Department of Curriculum and Instruction, College of Education,1 University Station D5700, Austin, TX 78712). Usted está libre de retirar su consentimiento y dejar de participar en esta investigación en cualquier tiempo que quiera, sin castigo o pérdida de beneficios que aparte de eso merece. Durante la investigación, la investigadora principal le notificará de la cualquiera información nueva que pueda afectar su decisión de seguir participando en la investigación.

También, si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como un participante en esta investigación, por favor, llame a: Lisa Leiden, Ph.D., Chair, La Universidad de Texas, Austin Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, 512/232-4383.

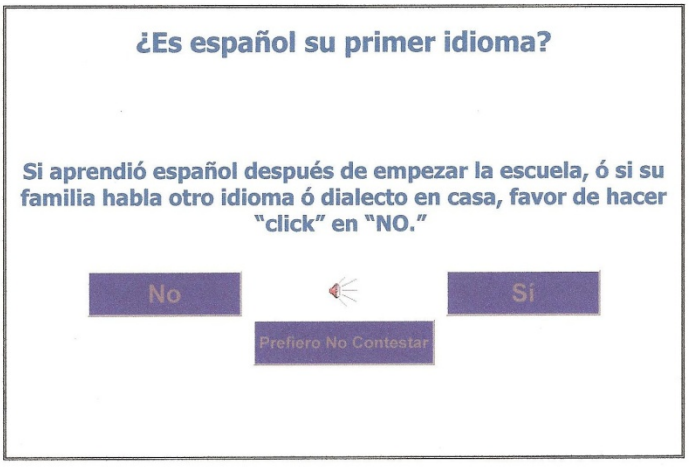
¿Cómo van a mantener la privacidad y la confidencia de sus documentos?
Personas autorizadas de la Universidad de Texas, Austin y la "Institutional Review Board" tienen el derecho de repasar sus documentos y protegerán la confidencia de estos documentos hasta el punto permitido por la ley. Fuera de eso, sus documentos no serán liberados sin su consentimiento, a menos que sean requeridos por la ley o la corte.

Si usted deja su nombre y información de contacto, serán guardados en otro base de datos y serán destruidos después de la investigación. Si los resultados de esta investigación están publicados o presentados en una reunión científica, su identidad no será descubierta.

¿Recibirán los investigadores algún beneficio por su participación en esta investigación?
Esta investigación es parte de los requisitos del programa doctorado en la enseñanza de idiomas. Los investigadores no recibirán ningún beneficio por su participación en esta investigación, aparte de la posibilidad de presentar los resultados en una conferencia o jornada profesional.

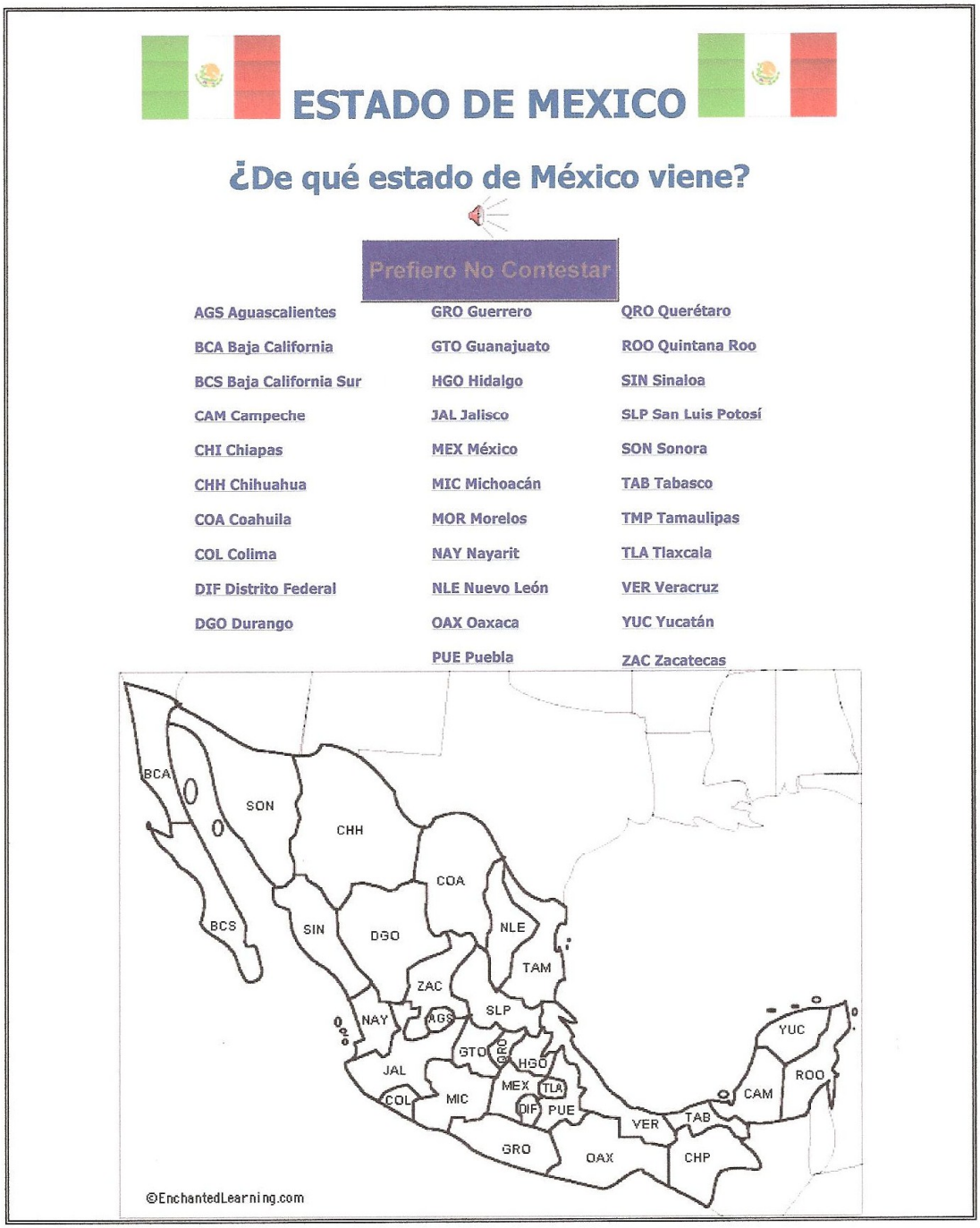
Negar/Salir | Imprimir | Continuar

Web Page 2: Informed Consent

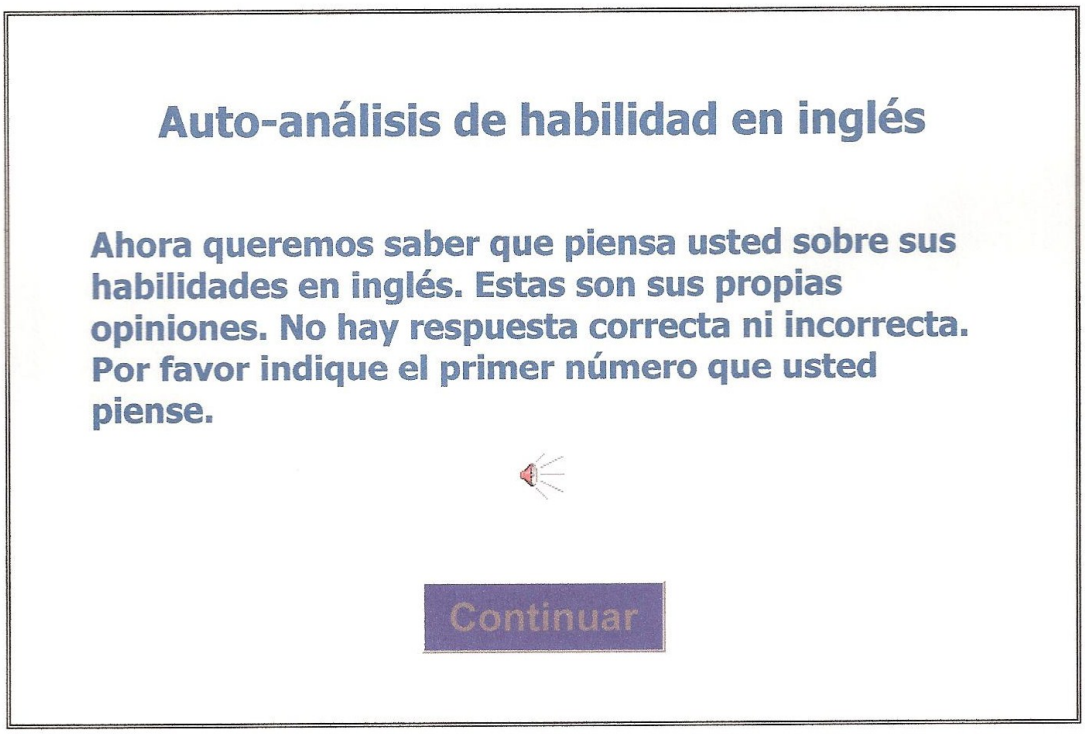


Web Page 3: Is Spanish your first language

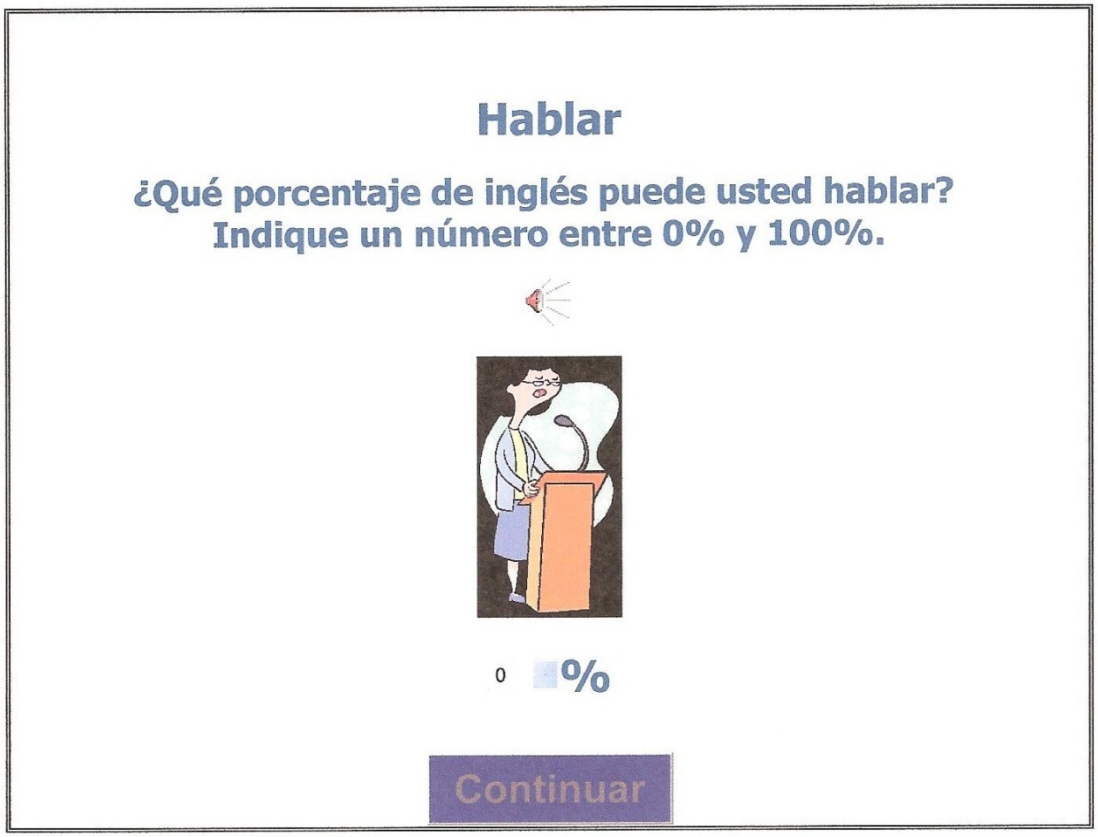
Web Page 4: Country of Origin



Web Page 5: State of Mexico

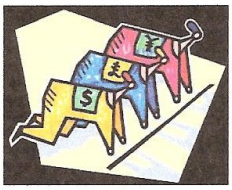


Web Page 6: Self-Analysis of Ability Intro



Web Page 7: Self Analysis of Speaking

Estamos listos para empezar

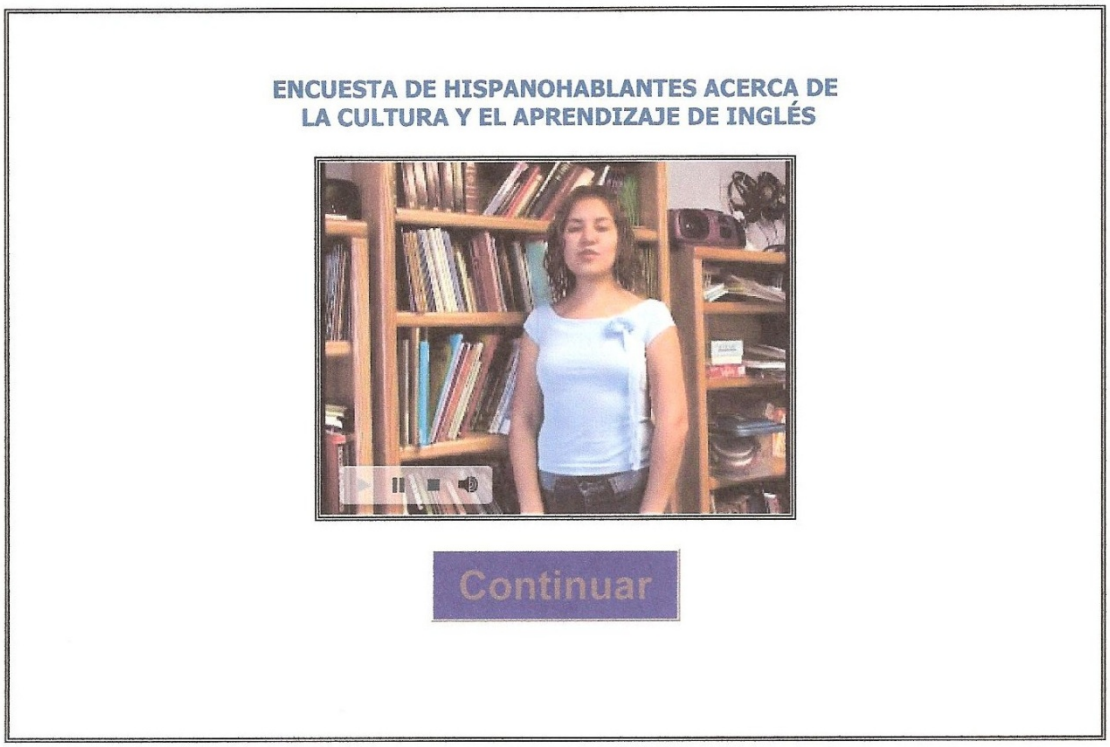


Hay 3 encuestas. Cada encuesta empezará con un video que explica el asunto. Por lo regular, cada encuesta va a tomar 10-15 minutos. Si encuentra un problema, favor de notificarnos por email (glyndalin@yahoo.com) con la última pregunta que recuerda.

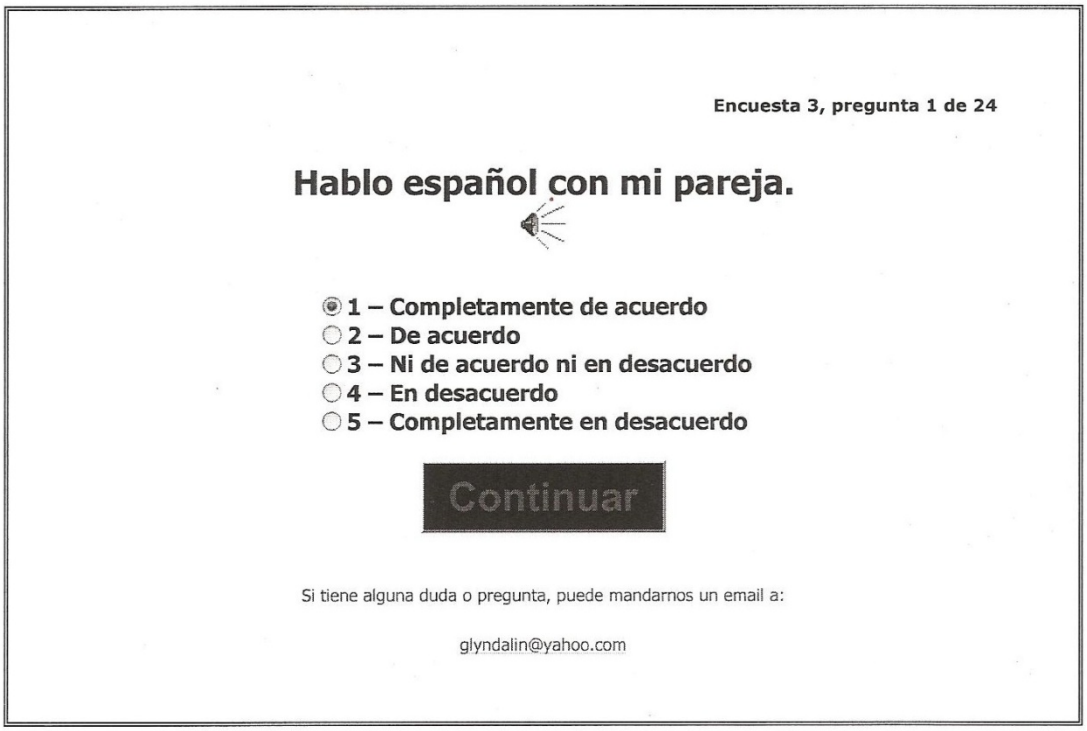
Gracias por ayudarnos en este estudio.

Continuar

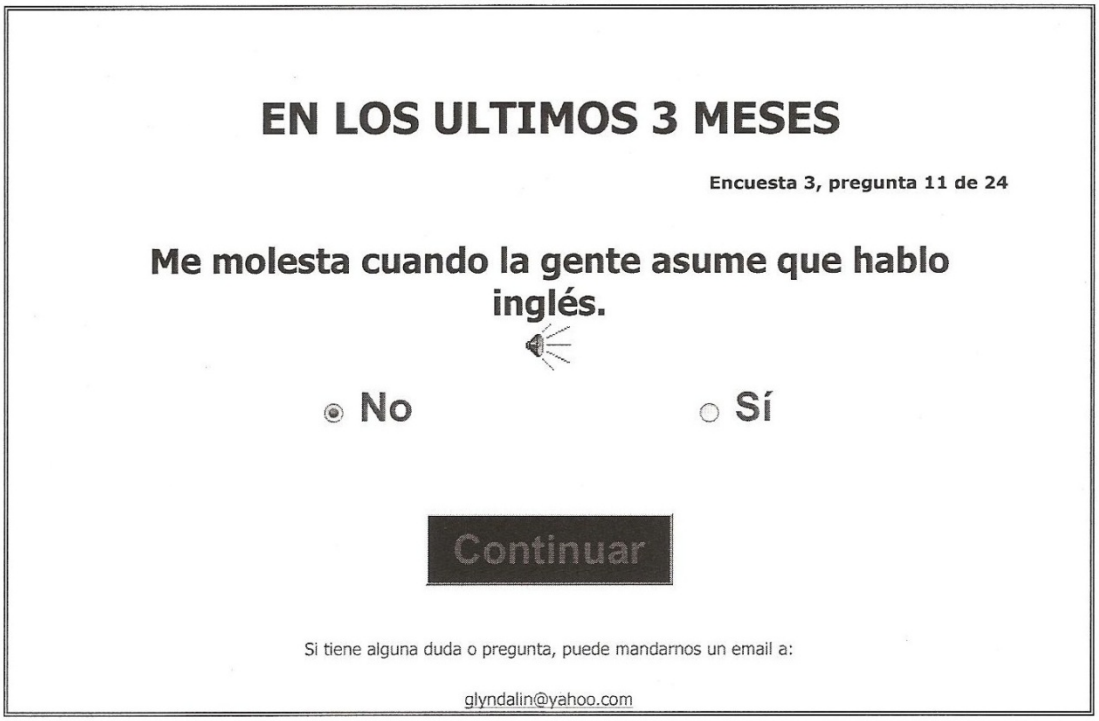
Web Page 8: Introduction of Surveys



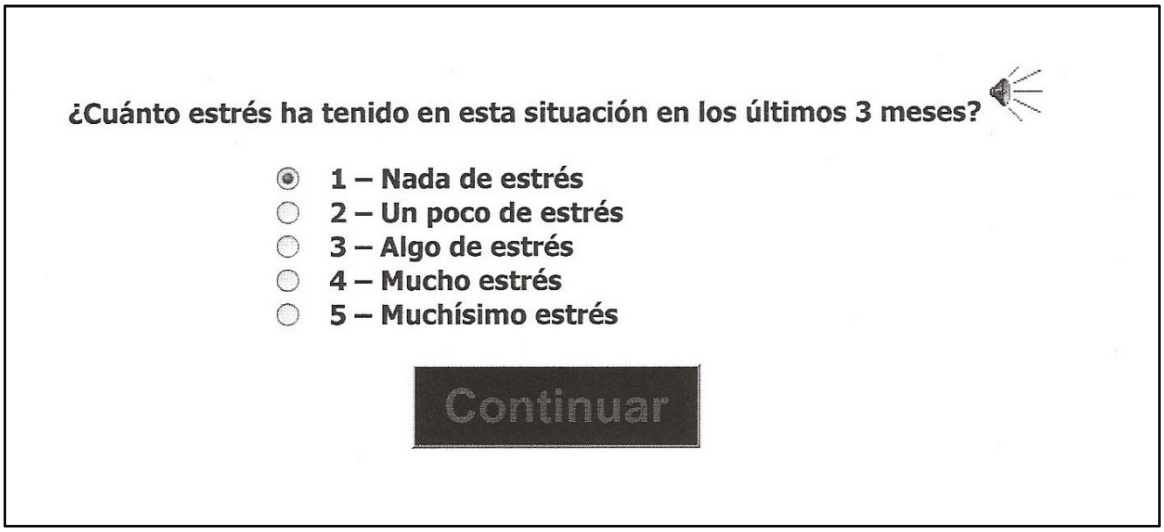
Web Page 9: Sample of Introduction to Survey with Video Clip



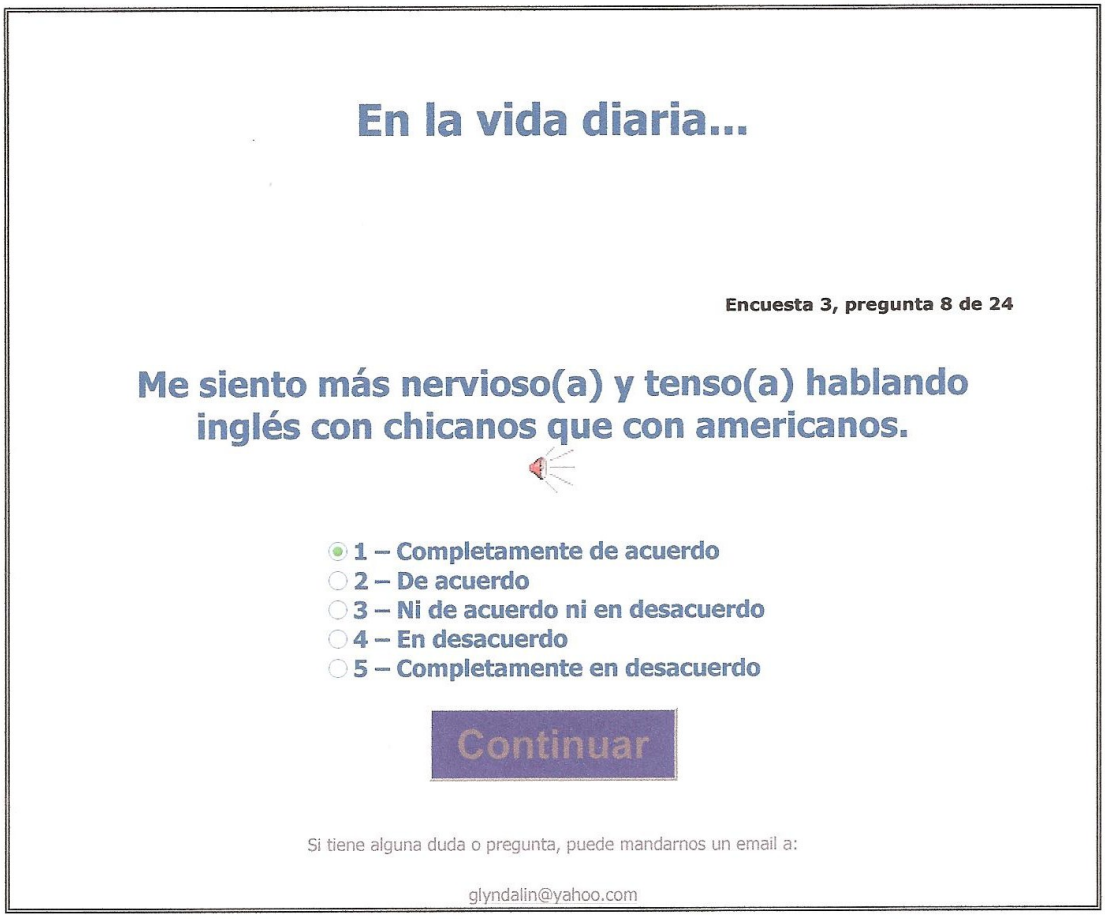
Web Page 10: SMAS Item



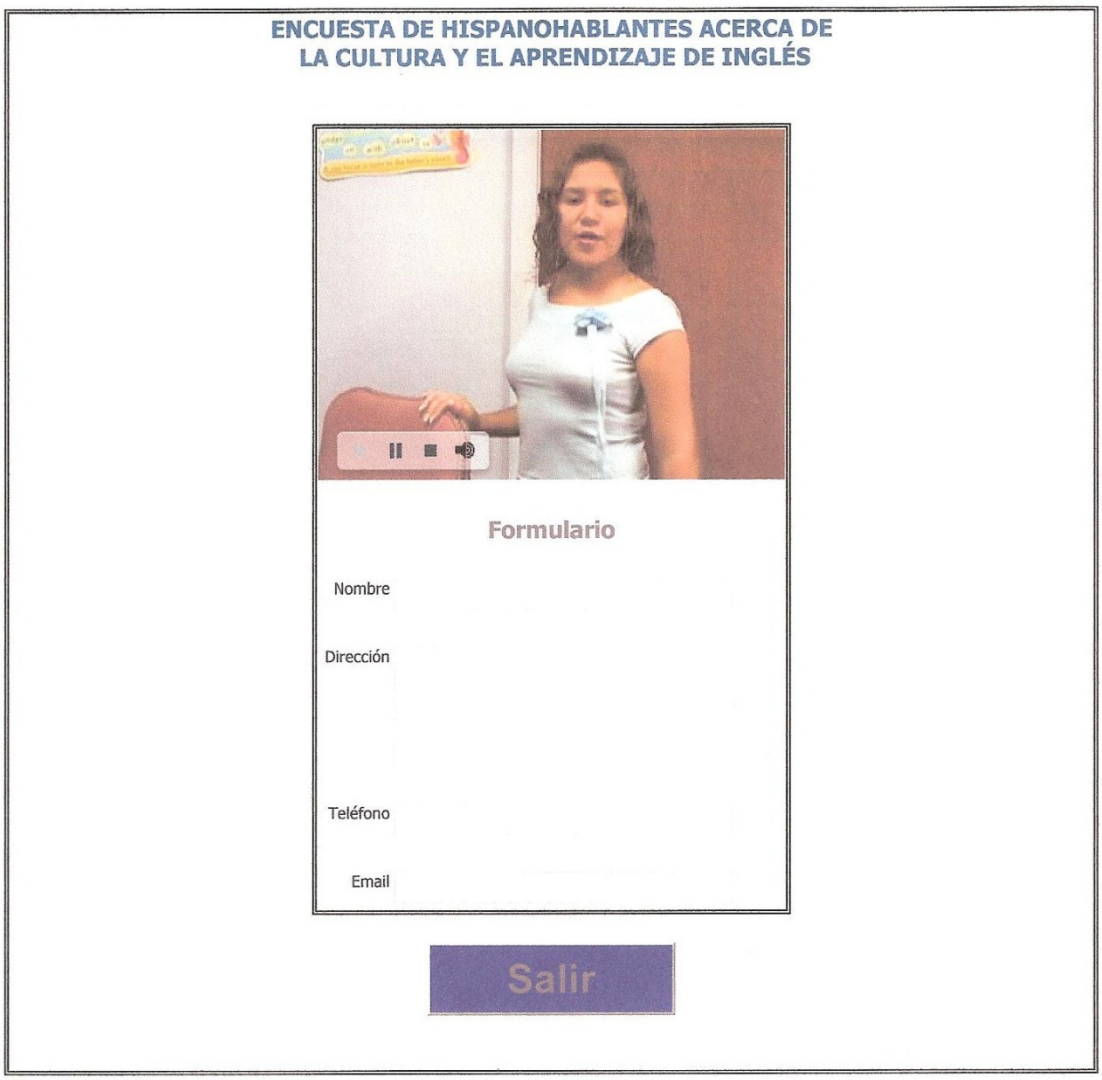
Web Page 11: MASI Item



Web Page 12: MASI Pop-up Stress Level screen



Web Page 13: ELAS Item



Web Page 14: Contact Information Screen with Video Instructions

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Vita

Glenda Lynn Rose was born in Fort Eustis, Virginia on March 3, 1969 to Ronald D. and Louise B. Rose. She grew up in Chesapeake, Virginia where she graduated from Indian River High School with honors. Following graduation, she attended Old Dominion University (ODU) as a pre-med student. After a serious and difficult to diagnose illness caused her to take a medical withdrawal, she began tutoring English as a second language to refugees through Refugee Resettlement Services in Virginia Beach. She decided to complete her bachelor degree at Providence Bible College and Theological Seminary where she majored in Christian Education. At that time, she accepted the position of Youth Pastor at Getsémane Hispanic Mission in Newport News. After finishing her seminary degree, she returned to ODU where she completed her B.A. in English with an emphasis in linguistics and her M.A. in Applied Linguistics, with an emphasis and graduate certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. While studying, she simultaneously worked as a dispatcher for Haverty's Furniture Company, an adult ESL instructor for Norfolk Public Schools and also as a research assistant for ODU's Social Science Research Center. In 2000, she transferred with Haverty's to Austin as the regional operations manager. She taught ESL for Austin Independent School District's (AISD) Community in Schools program. She herself returned to school to begin her doctoral studies at the University of Texas at Austin in 2001. In 2002 she left Haverty's and AISD to found English Now, a nonprofit

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